

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

With an Account of
THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
R O M A N E M P I R E:

AND A
View of the Progress of Society,
FROM THE
RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS
To the Peace of Paris, in 1763.

In a SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

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A

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
MODERN EUROPE.

P A R T I.

From the RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS to the PEACE
of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

L E T T E R LXIX.

A general View of the Transactions of EUROPE, from the Death of CHARLES IX. in 1574, to the Accession of HENRY IV. the first King of the Branch of BOURBON, to the Throne of FRANCE, in 1589; including the Rise of the REPUBLIC of HOLLAND, the unhappy Catastrophe of DON SEBASTIAN King of PORTUGAL, the Execution of MARY Queen of SCOTS, and the Defeat of the SPANISH ARMADA.

A PARTICULAR detail of the many great and singular events, which the period before us contains, would rather perplex the memory than inform the judgment. I shall therefore, my dear Philip, content myself with offering you a general survey. Consequences are chiefly to be noted.

The death of Charles IX. though the subject of rejoicing among the Hugonots, was far from healing the wounds of France, yet bleeding *from the late

A. D. 1574.

massacres. His brother, the duke of Anjou, who succeeded

ed him under the name of Henry III. and who, as I have already observed, had been elected king of Poland, whence he eloped with the secrecy of a felon, found the kingdom in the greatest disorder imaginable. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands were of more weight than the will of the sovereign; even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, being entirely guided by the counsels of the duke of Guise and his family.

Henry, by the advice of the queen-mother, who had governed the kingdom till his arrival, laid a scheme for restoring the royal authority, by acting as umpire between the parties; by moderating their differences, and reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the dissimulation necessary for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and sound understanding, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partizans of each to adhere more closely to their several leaders.

Meanwhile the Hugonots were not only strengthened by the accession of the duke of Alençon, the king's brother, afterwards duke of Anjou, and by the arrival of
A. D. 1575. a German army, under the prince of Condé, but by the presence of the gallant king of Navarre, who had also made his escape from court, and placed himself at their head. Henry, in prosecution of his moderating scheme, entered into treaty with them: and, desirous of preserving
A. D. 1576. a balance between the factions, granted peace to the protestants on the most advantageous conditions. They obtained the public exercise of their religion, except within two leagues of the court; party-chambers, consisting of an equal number of protestants and catholics, were erected in all the parliaments of the kingdom, for the more equitable administration of justice; all attainders

were

were reversed, and eight cautionary towns were put into their hands ¹.

This treaty of pacification, which was the fifth concluded with the Hugonots, gave the highest disgust to the catholics, and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the conduct of the king, and of laying the foundation of that famous LEAGUE, projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine; an association which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the new doctrines. In order to divert the force of the League from the throne, and even to obstruct its efforts against the Hugonots, Henry declared himself at the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the catholics; but his dilatory and feeble measures discovered his reluctance to the undertaking, and some unsuccessful enterprizes brought on a new peace, which, though less favourable than the former to the protestants, gave no satisfaction to the followers of the ancient religion. The animosity of party, daily whetted by theological controversy, was become too keen to admit of toleration: the king's moderation appeared criminal to one faction, and suspicious to both; while the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and of the king of Navarre on the other, engaged by degrees the bulk of the nation to enlist themselves under one or other of those great leaders. Religious hate set at nought all civil regulations, and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel ².

These commotions, though of a domestic nature, were too important to be overlooked by foreign princes. Elizabeth queen of England, who always considered her interests as connected with the prosperity of the French protestants, and the depression of the house of Guise, had repeatedly supplied the Hugonots with considerable sums of money, notwith-

1. Davila. D'Aubigne. Mezeray.

2. Thuanus. Davila.

standing her negotiations with the court of France. Philip II. of Spain, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the League, had entered into the closest correspondence with the duke of Guise, and employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The subjection of the Hugonots, he flattered himself, would be followed by the submission of the Flemings; and the same political motives which induced Elizabeth to assist the French reformers, would have led her to aid the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, and the great force which he maintained in those mutinous provinces, had hitherto kept her in awe, and made her still preserve some appearance of friendship with that monarch³.

Elizabeth, however, had given protection to all the Flemish exiles, who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, then so celebrated for its manufactures, they brought along with them several useful arts, hitherto unknown, or but little cultivated, in England. The queen had also permitted the Flemish privateers to enter the English harbours, and there dispose of their prizes. But, on the remonstrance of the Spanish ambassador, she withdrew that liberty⁴; a measure which, in the issue, proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip, and which naturally lead us back to the history of the civil wars in the Low Countries.

The Gueux, or *beggars*, as the Flemish sea-adventurers were called, being shut out from the English harbours, were under the necessity of attempting to secure one of their own. They accordingly attacked, in 1572, the Brille, a sea-port town in Holland; and, by a furious assault, made themselves masters of the place⁵.

Unimportant as this conquest may seem, it alarmed the duke of Alva; who, putting a stop to those bloody execu-

3. Camden.

4. Ibid.

5. Grotius, lib. ii.

tions, which he was making on the defenceless Flemings, in order to enforce his oppressive taxes, withdrew the garrison from Brussels, and detached it against the Gueux. Experience soon proved that his fears were well grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, rendered desperate by that complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms on the approach of a military force; defeated the Spanish detachment, and put themselves under the protection of the prince of Orange; who, though unsuccessful in his former attempt, still meditated the relief of the Netherlands. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom, could inspire. In a short time almost the whole province of Holland, and also that of Zealand, threw off the Spanish yoke⁶; and the prince, by uniting the revolted towns in a league, laid the foundation of that illustrious republic, whose arms and policy long made so considerable a figure in the transactions of Europe, and whose commerce, frugality, and persevering industry, is still the wonder of the world.

The love of liberty transformed into heroes, men little accustomed to arms, and naturally averse from war. The prince of Orange took Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde; and the desperate defence of Haarlem, which nothing but the most extreme famine could overcome, convinced the duke of Alva of the pernicious effects of his violent counsels. He entreated the Hollanders, whom his severities had only exasperated, to lay down their arms, and rely on the king's generosity; and he gave the strongest assurances, that the utmost lenity would be shown to those who did not obstinately persist in their rebellion. But the people were not disposed to confide in promises so often violated, nor to throw themselves on the clemency of a prince and governor,

6. Le Clerc. Temple. Grotius.

who had shewn themselves equally perfidious and inhuman. Now reduced to despair, they expected the worst that could happen, and bid defiance to fortune. Alva, enraged at their firmness, laid siege to Alcaer, where the Spaniards were finally repulsed, 1573: a great fleet, which he had fitted out, was defeated by the Zealanders; he petitioned to be recalled from his government, and boasted at his departure, that in the course of five years, he had made eighteen thousand heretics perish by the hands of the public executioner ⁷.

Alva was succeeded in the Low Countries by Requesens, commendator of Castile, who began his government with pulling down the insulting statue of his predecessor, erected at Antwerp. But neither this popular act, nor the mild disposition of the new governor, could reconcile the revolted Hollanders to the Spanish dominion. Their injuries were too recent, and too grievous to be soon forgot. The war continued as obstinate as ever. The success was various. Middleburg was taken by the Zealanders, in 1574, while Lewis of Nassau, with a considerable body of troops, intended a reinforcement to his brother, the prince of Orange, was surprised near a village called Noeck, and his army defeated. Lewis and two of his brothers were left dead on the field of battle. The siege of Leyden was formed by the Spaniards, and the most amazing examples of valour and constancy were displayed on both sides. The Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive the besiegers from that enterprize; and the Spaniards had the hardiness to continue their purpose, and to attempt to drain off the inundation. The besieged suffered every species of misery, and were at last so reduced by famine, as to be obliged to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens. But they did not suffer in vain. A violent south-west wind drove the inundation with fury against the works of the besiegers, when every human hope seemed to fail; and Valdes, the Spanish

⁷. Grotius, lib. ii.

general, in danger of being swallowed up by the waves, was constrained to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army⁸.

The repulse at Leyden was followed by the conferences at Breda, in 1575. There the emperor, Rodolph II. endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between his cousin the king of Spain, and the states of the Low Countries, originally subject to the empire, and over which the imperial jurisdiction was still supreme. But these negotiations proving unsuccessful, hostilities were renewed, and pushed with vigour by the Spaniards. They met with a proportional resistance in many places; particularly at Woerde, the reduction of which they were obliged to abandon, after a siege of several months, and a great loss of men⁹.

But the contest was unequal, between a mighty monarchy and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, or defended by the desperate valour of the inhabitants. The Spaniards made themselves masters of the island of Finart, east of Zealand; they entered Zealand itself, in spite of all opposition; they reduced Ziriczee, after an obstinate resistance; and, as a last blow, were projecting the reduction of Holland¹⁰.

Now it was that the revolted provinces saw the necessity of foreign assistance, in order to preserve them from final ruin; and they sent a solemn embassy to Elizabeth, their most natural ally, offering her the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, if she would employ her power in their defence. But that princess, though inclined by many strong motives to accept of so liberal an offer, prudently rejected it. Though magnanimous, she had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or of acquiring, by any other means, an accession of territory. The sole purpose of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the most fru-

8. Metern. Bentivoglio. Le Clerc.

9. Ibid.

10. Bentivoglio. Le Clerc.

gal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy appeared the probable consequence of supporting the revolted provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never in honour abandon them, how desperate forever their defence might become, but must embrace it even in opposition to her interest. The possession of Holland and Zealand, though highly inviting to a commercial nation, did not seem equivalent to such hazard. Elizabeth therefore refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; but told the ambassadors, That, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had shewn her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the best terms possible. She accordingly dispatched Sir Henry Cobham to Philip, who took her mediation in good part, but no accommodation ensued¹¹. The war in the Netherlands was carried on with the same rage and violence as before, when an accident saved the infant republic.

Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, at a time when large arrears were due to the Spanish troops, they broke into a furious mutiny, in 1576; and sacked and pillaged the wealthy city of Antwerp, executing terrible slaughter on the inhabitants, and threatened the other cities with a like fate. This danger united all the provinces, except Luxemburg, in a confederacy, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, which had for its object the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient liberties of the States¹².

Don John of Austria, who had been appointed to succeed Requesens, found every thing in confusion on his arrival in the Low Countries. He saw the impossibility of resistance, and agreed to whatever was required of him;—to confirm the Pacification of Ghent, and dismiss the Spanish army. After these concessions he was acknowledged governor, and the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands¹³. Peace and con-

11. Camden.

12. Bentivog. lib. ix. Thuan. lib. lxi.

13. Bentivog. lib. x.

cord were restored, industry renewed, and religious disputes silenced; liberty had leisure to breathe, commerce began to lift her head, and the arts again to dispense their blessings.

But the ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for the exercise of his military talents, lighted anew the torch of discord, and the flames of civil war. As he found the States determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles; seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army. Animated by the successes of his youth, he had opened his mind to vast undertakings; and looking beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, had projected a marriage with the queen of Scots, and in her right the acquisition of both the British kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions, and no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of the Flemings, whose independency seemed now intimately connected with her own safety. She accordingly entered into an alliance with them; sent them a sum of money; and soon after a body of troops¹⁴. A. D. 1573. Prince Casimire, count palatine of the Rhine, also engaged to support them; and collected, for that purpose, an army of German protestants.

But the Flemings, while strengthening themselves by foreign alliances, were weakened by dissensions at home. The duke d'Arfchot, governor of Flanders, and several other catholic noblemen, jealous of the prince of Orange, who, on the return of the Spanish forces, had been elected governor of Brabant, privately invited the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rodolph II. to the government of the Low Countries. Matthias, disgusted at the imperial court, rashly accepted the proposal; quitted Prague in the night, and suddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, to the astonishment of the States. Swayed by maxims of the truest policy and patriotism, the prince of Orange,

contrary to all expectation, embraced the interest of the archduke; and, by that prudent measure, divided the German and Spanish branches of the house of Austria. Don John was deposed by a decree of the States; Matthias was appointed governor general of the provinces, and the prince of Orange his lieutenant, to the great mortification of d'Arfchot¹⁵.

Meanwhile Don John being joined by the famous Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, with eighteen thousand veterans, attacked the army of the States near Gemblours, and gained a considerable advantage over them. But the cause of liberty sustained a much greater misfortune, in that jealousy which arose between the Protestant and Catholic provinces. The prince of Orange, by reason of his moderation, became suspected by both parties; Matthias, receiving no support from Germany, fell into contempt; and the duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. of France, through the prevalence of the Catholic interest, was declared *Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands*¹⁶.

Don John took advantage of these fluctuating councils to push his military operations, and made himself master of several places. But he was so warmly received by the English auxiliaries at Rimenant, that he was obliged to give ground: and seeing little hopes of future success, on account of the numerous armies assembled against him, under prince Casimire (who was paid by Elizabeth) and the duke of Anjou, he is supposed to have died of chagrin: others say of poison, given him by order of Philip, who dreaded his ambition. But be that as it may, he died unexpectedly, and was succeeded by the duke of Parma, much his superior both in war and negotiation, and whose address and clemency gave a new turn to the affairs of Spain in the Netherlands.

The confederates, in the meanwhile, spent their time in quarrelling, instead of acting. Neither the army of prince

15. Le Clerc, lib. iii. . . . 16. Reidan, lib. ii. Metern. lib. x.

Casimire nor that of the duke of Anjou, was of any use to the states. The Catholics were jealous of the first, the Protestants of the last, and the two leaders were jealous of each other. Those evils induced William prince of Orange to form the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with such others as lay most contiguous; Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Guelderland, in which the Protestant interest predominated. The deputies accordingly met at A. D. 1579. Utrecht, and signed that famous Union, in ap- Jan. 15.pearance so slight, but in reality so solid, of seven provinces independent of each other, actuated by different interests, yet as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

It was agreed, that the Seven Provinces shall unite themselves in interest as one province, reserving to each individual province and city all its own privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; that in all disputes between particular provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators; and that they shall assist each other with life and fortune, against every foreign attempt upon any single province¹⁷. The first coin struck after this alliance is strongly expressive of the perilous situation of the infant commonwealth. It represented a ship struggling amid the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto: *Incertum quo fata ferant*; "I know not what may be my fate¹⁸."

The States had indeed great reason for doubt. They had to contend with the whole power of the Spanish monarchy; and Philip, instead of offering them any equitable conditions, laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the Union of Utrecht. But William was too patriotic to resign the interests of his country for any private advantage. He was determined to share the fate of the United Provinces: and they stood in much need of support. The duke

¹⁷. Temple, chap. 1. Reidan. lib. ¹⁸. Id. Ibid.

of Parma was making rapid progress both by his arts and arms. He had concluded a treaty with the Walloons, a name commonly given to the natives of the southern provinces of the Netherlands: he gained the confidence of the Catholic party in general, and took by assault the cities of Marfien and Maestricht; where, in defiance of his authority, great enormities were committed by the Spanish troops. Every thing seemed possible to him. The States, however, continued resolute, though sensible of their weakness. They again made an offer of their sovereignty to Elizabeth; and as she still rejected it, they conferred it on the duke of Anjou, finally withdrawing their allegiance from Philip II¹².

While Philip was losing the seven United Provinces, fortune threw in his way a new sovereignty. Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, grandson of the great Emanuel, smit with the passion for military glory, determined to signalize himself by an expedition against the Moors in Africa, where his ancestors had acquired so much renown. In consequence of this direction of mind, he espoused the cause of Muley Mahomet, whom Muley Moluch, his uncle, had dispossessed of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco; and, contrary to the opinion of his wisest counsellors, embarked for Africa, in 1578, with an army of twenty thousand men. The army of Muley Moluch was superior; but that circumstance only roused the courage of Don Sebastian, who wore green armour in order to be a better mark for the enemy. The two armies engaged near Alcazar-quivir; and, after a desperate conflict, the Christians were totally routed, or rather destroyed, being all either killed or taken prisoners. Among the slain was Don Sebastian. The two Moorish princes uncle and nephew, were also left dead on the field²⁰.

19. Grotius, lib. iii.

20. H. de Mendoza. Cabrera. Thuanus. Muley Moluch, who appears to have been a great and generous prince, died with the most heroic magnanimity. Wasted by an inveterate disease, which the fatigue of the battle had rendered

The king of Portugal having left no issue, was succeeded by his uncle, cardinal Henry; who also dying without children, a number of competitors arose for the crown. Among those was the king of Spain, nephew to Henry by the mother's side; the duke of Braganza, married to the granddaughter of the great Emanuel; Don Antonio, prior of Crato, bastard of the infant Don Lewis, the duke of Savoy, the duke of Parma, Catherine of Medicis, and pope Gregory XIII. who, extraordinary as it may seem, attempted to renew the obsolete claim of the Holy See to the sovereignty of Portugal. Philip's claim was not the best, but he had most power to support it. The old duke of Alva, who had been for some time in disgrace, like a mastiff unchained for fighting, was recalled to court, and put at the head of an army. He gained two victories over Don Antonio; who of all the other competitors, alone pretended to assert his title by arms. These victories decided the contest. Philip was crowned at Lisbon, proclaimed in India, and a price was set on the head of Antonio ²¹.

A. D. 1581.

A price was also set on the head of the prince of Orange, as soon as it was known in Spain, that the United Provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from Philip, and an attempt was soon after made upon his life, by a man of desperate fortune, in order to obtain the reward.

A. D. 1582.

rendered mortal, he desired his attendants to keep his death secret, till the fortune of the day should be decided. Even after he lost the use of speech, he laid his finger on his lips as a farther injunction of secrecy; and stretching himself in his litter, calmly expired in the field of victory. (Ibid). In regard to the manner of Don Sebastian's death, historians are by no means agreed; but all admit that he fought gallantly, and disdained to survive the defeat of his army. Some say, that he laid violent hands upon himself; others, that being disarmed and made prisoner by the victors, he was slain by a Moorish officer, who came up while the soldiers were violently disputing their right to the royal captive. Thuanus, *Hist. sui Temp.*) Muley Mahomet perished in attempting to save himself by flight, and Hamet, Muley Moluch's brother, succeeded to the throne of Morocco. Id. Ibid.

21 * Faria y Sosa. Cabrera.

Now first did the States become truly sensible of the value of that great man. The joy of the Spaniards, on a false report of his death, could only be equalled by that of the Flemings, when informed of his safety; yet a jealousy of liberty, and a dread of his ambition, still prevented them from appointing him their supreme governor, though every day convinced them of the imprudence, rapacity, and dangerous designs of the duke of Anjou. He had at first assembled a considerable army, and raised the siege of Cambray; but a project of marrying queen Elizabeth, whose amorous dalliances with him are somewhat unaccountable, and by no means justifiable, unless sincere, led him to waste his time in England, while the duke of Parma was making rapid progress in the Netherlands. On his return he totally lost the confidence of the States, by a rash and violent attack upon their liberties; was obliged to leave the United Provinces; retired into France, and died soon after in contempt²².

The archduke Matthias had returned to Germany, on the elevation of his rival; so that the duke of Parma and the prince of Orange, the two greatest generals of their age, were now left to dispute the possession of the Netherlands, which became the chief theatre of war in Europe, and the school to which men of courage, from all nations, resorted to study the military art.

England, during these commotions, had enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity. But the prospect now began to be overcast: and Elizabeth saw dangers gradually multiply on her, from more than one quarter. The earl of Lennox, cousin-german to the young king of Scotland, and captain Stewart of the house of Ochiltree, afterward earl of Arran, had found means to detach James from the English interest; and by their intrigues the earl of Morton, who, during his

22. Mezeray. Camden. Le Clerc.

whole regency had preserved that kingdom in strict alliance with Elizabeth, was brought to the scaffold, as an accomplice in the murder of the late king²³.

A body of the Scottish nobility, however, dissatisfied with the new administration, which was entirely directed by Lennox and Arran, formed a conspiracy, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of the king at the castle of Ruthven, the seat of the earl of Gowrie; and the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. James, who was about twelve years of age, wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but no compassion was shewn him. "Mind not his tears, said the master of Glamis:—better that boys should weep than bearded men." The king was obliged to submit to the present necessity; to pretend an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the conspirators, and to acknowledge the detention of his person to be an acceptable service. Arran was confined a prisoner, in his own house, and Lennox retired into France, where he soon after died²⁴.

But the affairs of Scotland remained not long in this situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrews, summoned his

23. Spotswood. Crawford. Morton owned that Bothwell had informed him of the design against the king's life, solicited him to concur in the execution of it, and affirmed it was authorized by the queen. He at first, if we may believe his dying words, absolutely declined having any concern in such a measure; and, when afterward urged to the same purpose, he required a warrant under the queen's hand, authorising the attempt. As no such warrant was produced, he refused to take part in the enterprize. And as an apology for concealing this treasonable undertaking, he very plausibly urged in his own vindication, the irresolution of Darnley, and criminal situation of Mary. "To whom," said he, "could I make the discovery? The queen was the author of the conspiracy. Darnley was such a changeling, that no secret could be safely communicated to him. Huntley and Bothwell, who bore the chief sway in the kingdom, were themselves the perpetrators of the crime." Spotswood, p. 314. Crawford, *Mem. Append.* III. Robertson, book vi.

24. Melvil. Spotswood. Calderwood.

friends and partizans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Montroſe, and Rothes, haſtened to pay their duty to their ſovereign; and the oppoſite party finding themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a combination, took ſhelter in

England. The earl of Arran was recalled to A. D. 1583. court: a new attempt to diſturb the government was defeated; the earl of Gowrie, its reputed author, was brought to the block; and ſevere laws were paſſed againſt the Preſbyterian clergy, who had applauded the *Raid of Ruthven*, as the late conſpiracy was called ²⁵.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, the king of Spain, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with Elizabeth, ſent, in the name of the pope, a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, in order to recruit for the aſſiſtance which ſhe gave to his rebellious ſubjects in the Low Countries. But the invaders, though joined by many of the diſcontented Irish, were all cut off to a man, by lord Grey, the queen's deputy, and fifteen hundred of the rebels were hanged; a ſeverity which gave great diſpleaſure to Elizabeth ²⁶.

When the Engliſh ambaffador, at the court of Madrid, complained of this invaſion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies of Francis Drake; a bold navigator, who had paſſed into the South Sea by the ſtraights of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards in thoſe parts, where they leaſt expected an enemy, had taken many rich prizes, and returned home ſafely by the cape of Good Hope, in September 1580. As he was the firſt Engliſhman who had circumnavigated the globe, his name became celebrated on account of ſo hazardous and fortunate an adventure; and the queen, who loved valour, and hoped to ſhare in the ſpoil, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him on board the ſhip which had performed ſo memorable a voyage. She cauſed,

25. Spotſwood.

26. Camden.

however, part of the booty to be restored, in order to appease the Catholic king ²⁷.

But Elizabeth's dangers from abroad might have been regarded as of small importance, had her own subjects been united at home. Unhappily that was not the case. The zeal of the Catholics, excited by constraint rather than persecution, daily threatened her with an insurrection. Not satisfied with incessant outcries, against her severity towards the queen of Scots, and against the court of High Commission (an ecclesiastical tribunal, erected by Elizabeth, for taking cognizance of non-conformists, and which was certainly too arbitrary), the Romish priests, especially in the foreign seminaries for the education of English students of the Catholic communion, endeavoured to persuade their disciples, that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life ²⁸.

Those seminaries, founded by Philip II. the pope, and the cardinal of Lorrain, in order to prevent the decay of the ancient religion in England, sent over yearly a colony of young priests, who maintained the Romish superstition in its full height of bigotry; and who, being often detected in treasonable practices, occasioned that severity of which their sect complained. They were all under the direction of the Jesuits, an active order of regular priests established since the Reformation; the court of Rome perceiving that the lazy monks, and beggarly friars, who had sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side by the bold and inquisitive spirit of the age, and the virulence of the persecuted Protestants. These ghostly fathers, who by the very nature of their institution were engaged to pervert learning, and who, where it could serve their pious purposes, employed it to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, persuaded William Parry, an English gentleman, and a convert to the

27. Ibid.

28. Camden.

Catholic faith, that he could not perform a more acceptable service to Heaven than to take away the life of his sovereign. Parry, then at Milan, was confirmed in this opinion by Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, and even by the pope himself, who exhorted him to persevere; and granted him, for his encouragement, a plenary indulgence, and remission of his sins. Though still agitated with doubts, he came over to England, with an intention of executing his bloody purpose. But happily his irresolution continued; and he was at last betrayed by one Nevil, of the family of Westmoreland, to whom he had communicated his design. Being thrown into prison, he confessed his guilt; received sentence of death, and suffered the punishment directed by the law for his treasonable conspiracy²⁹.

Such murderous attempts, the result of that bigoted spirit with which the followers of the two religions, but more especially the Catholics, were actuated, every where now appeared. About the same time that this design against the life of Elizabeth was brought to light, the prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a desperate enthusiast, who believed himself impelled by the Divinity, we are told by the jesuit Strada, to commit that barbarous action. But the assassin, when put to the torture, declared, perhaps no less truly, that the reward promised by Philip, in his proscription of William, had been his principal motive³⁰.

The United Provinces, now deprived of their chief hope, were filled with sorrow and consternation: a general gloom involved their affairs; despondency appeared in every face, and anarchy reigned in their councils. The provinces of Holland and Zealand alone endeavoured to repair the loss, and to shew their gratitude to William, by electing his son Maurice their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land. Maurice was at this time only eighteen years old,

29. *State Trials*, vol. i. *Strype*, vol. iii. *Hume*, chap. xli.

30. *Grotius*. *Metern*. *Bentivoglio*. *Thuanus*.

but such marks of genius distinguished his character, as approved him worthy of the dignity to which he was raised; and he was opposed to the duke of Parma, the greatest general of that, or perhaps of any other age.

In Spain it was imagined, that the death of the prince of Orange would deprive the confederates, not only of counsel but of courage, any longer to resist the power of Philip. But after the first emotions of grief and surprize subsided, it produced very contrary effects. Rage took place of despair; and the horror of the assassination, universally attributed to the intrigues of Philip, so irritated the people, that they determined to prosecute the war with unremitted vigour, and revenge the death of their great deliverer ³¹.

Meanwhile the duke of Parma, having reduced Ghent and Brussels, was making preparations for the siege of Antwerp, the richest and most populous city in the Netherlands. On his first approach, the citizens opened the sluices, cut down the dykes, and overflowed the neighbouring country with an inundation, which swept away all his magazines. Not discouraged, however, by this loss, he set himself diligently to repair the misfortune; and cut, at prodigious labour and expence, but with incredible expedition, a canal from Steken to Caloo, in order to carry off the waters. He next erected that stupendous monument of his genius, so fatal to the cause of liberty! a fortified bridge across the deep and rapid river Scheld, to prevent all communication with the town by sea. The besieged attempted to burn it, or blow it up, by sending against it two fire-ships, full of powder and other combustible materials. But this scheme failing, and the besiegers daily making progress, in spite of every effort to oppose them, A. D. 1585. Antwerp sent deputies to the duke, and agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Philip ³².

31. Grotius, lib. iv. Metern, lib. xii.

32. Metern, lib. xii. Reidan, lib. iv. Thuanus, lib. lxxiii.

Domestic jealousy, no less than the valour of the Spaniards, or the conduct of their general, contributed to the fall of this flourishing city. The Hollanders, and particularly the citizens of Amsterdam, obstructed every measure proposed for the relief of Antwerp, hoping to profit by its reduction. The Protestants, it was concluded, would forsake it, as soon as it fell into the hands of Philip. The conjecture proved just: Antwerp went hourly to decay; and Amsterdam, enriched by the emigration of her sister's inhabitants, became the greatest commercial city in the Netherlands.

This rivalry, however, of the citizens of Amsterdam, so singular in the annals of mankind! in seeking a problematical private advantage, at the expence of public safety, and when exposed to the most imminent danger, had almost occasioned the subjection of the whole revolted provinces. The loss of Antwerp was a mortal blow to the formerly declining state of their affairs; and the only hope that remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign aid. Well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they tendered the sovereignty of their country to the king of France. But the distracted state of that monarchy obliged Henry to reject so advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he expected would bring him relief, by freeing him from the intrigues of that prince, only plunged him in deeper distress. The king of Navarre, a professed Protestant, being now next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the Catholic League; and to urge the king, by the most violent expostitions, to seek the exclusion of that gallant prince, and the extinction of the whole sect. Henry, though himself a zealous Catholic, disliked such precipitant measures: he attempted to suppress the League; but finding his authority too weak for that purpose, he was obliged to comply with the demands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Bourbon, whom the duke had set up as a competitor for the succession of all the king of Navarre, to declare war against

against the Hugonots, and countenance a faction, which he regarded as more dangerous to his throne³³. Any interposition in favour of the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries, would have drawn upon him at once the indignation of Philip, the Pope, and the League, of which they were the protectors. He was therefore under the necessity of renouncing all thoughts of the proffered sovereignty, though it opened a prospect equally flattering to his ambition and his vengeance.

The United Provinces, in this extremity, had again recourse to Elizabeth; who, although she continued to reject their sovereignty, for the reasons formerly assigned, agreed to yield them more effectual support. She accordingly concluded a new treaty with them to that purpose; in consequence of which, she was put in possession of the Brille, Flushing, and the castle of Rammakins, as a security for the payment of her expences. She knew that the step she had taken would immediately engage her in hostilities with Philip, yet was she not alarmed at the view of the present greatness of that prince; though such prepossessions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when informed that the queen of England had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, "She has now taken the diadem from her head, and placed it upon the point of a sword³⁴."

But Elizabeth, though rather cautious than enterprising in her natural disposition,—though she preferred peace, she was not afraid of war; and when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimity and boldness. She now prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole strength of the Catholic king. The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliaries, consisting of five thousand foot and a thousand horse; while

33. Davila, lib. vii. Mezeray, *Alleg. Chronol.* tom. v.

34. Camden.

Sir Francis Drake was dispatched with a fleet of twenty sail, and a body of land forces, to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. This gallant seaman made himself master of St. Jago de Cuba, of St. Domingo, the capital of Hispaniola, of Carthagena, and several other places; and returned to England with such riches, and such accounts of the Spanish weakness in the New World, as served to stimulate the nation to future enterprizes ³⁵.

The English arms were less successful in the Low Countries. Leicester possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen: and the States, who from a knowledge of his influence with Elizabeth, and a desire of engaging that princess still farther in their defence, had loaded him with new honours; had conferred on him the title of Governor, and Captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and vested him with a power almost dictatorial, soon found their confidence misplaced. He not only shewed his inability to direct military operations, by permitting the duke of Parma to advance in a rapid course of conquests, but abused his authority, by an administration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppressive. Intoxicated with his elevation, he assumed the air of a sovereign prince; refused the instruction of the States; thrust into all vacant places his own worthless favourites; excited the people to rise against the magistrates; introduced disorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confusion. The Dutch even suspected him of a design upon their liberties; and Elizabeth, in order to quiet their fears, or lest an attempt should be made against the life of her favourite, commanded him to resign his government, and return home ³⁶. Prince Maurice was elected governor by the States in the room of the earl of Leicester, and Lord Wil-

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Camden, p. 512. Metern. lib. xiii, xiv. Grotius, lib. v. Bentivoglio, part II. lib. iv.

loughby was by the queen appointed commander in chief of the English forces.

In the mean time Elizabeth was occupied about more immediate dangers than those from the Spanish arms; though Philip had already formed the most hostile designs against her, and had begun his preparations for that famous armament denominated the Invincible Armada. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, instigated by John Ballard, a popish priest, of the seminary of Rheims, engaged in a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign, as a necessary prelude to the deliverance of the queen of Scots, and the re-establishment of the catholic religion in England; and so sure did he think himself of success, and so meritorious his undertaking, that in order to perpetuate the memory of it, he caused a picture to be drawn in which he was represented standing amidst his six confederates, with a motto, expressing that their common danger was the bond of their fidelity. Happily the plot was discovered by the vigilance of secretary Walsingham; and Babington, and thirteen others, among whom was Ballard, suffered death for their treasonable design ³⁷.

The scene that followed was new and extraordinary. On the trial of the conspirators it appeared, that the queen of Scots, who had held a correspondence with Babington, had encouraged him in his enterprize: and it was resolved, by Elizabeth and her ministers, to bring Mary also to a public trial, as being accessory to the conspiracy. Her papers were accordingly seized, her principal domestics arrested, and her two secretaries sent prisoners to London. After the necessary information had been obtained, forty commissioners, appointed under the great seal, together with five of the judges, were sent to Fotheringay-castle, where Mary was now confined, to hear and decide this great cause.

An idea so repugnant to majesty, as being arraigned for treason, had not once entered the mind of the queen of

37. Camden, p. 515—518. Murden's *State Papers*. *State Trials*, vol. i.

Scots, though she no longer doubted but her destruction was determined on; nor had the strange resolution yet reached her ears, in the solitude of her prison. She received the intelligence, however, without emotion or astonishment; and she protested in the most solemn manner, that she had never countenanced any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, at the same time that she refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came into England," said she, "an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority; nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The queen of England's subjects, how noble soever their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me protection. Let them not now be perverted in order to take away my life³⁸."

Mary, however, was at last persuaded to appear before the commissioners, "to hear and to give answer to the accusations which should be offered against her," though she still refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court. The chancellor endeavoured to vindicate its authority, by pleading the supreme jurisdiction of the English laws over every one who resided in England: the lawyers of the crown opened the charge against the queen of Scots; and the commissioners, after hearing her defence, and adjourning to Westminster, pronounced sentence of death upon that unfortunate princess, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions³⁹.

The

³⁸ Robertson, book vii.

³⁹ Camden, p. 576. It is remarkable, that among the charges against Mary, she was accused, and seemingly on good grounds, of negotiating with the

The chief evidence against Mary arose from the declaration of her secretaries; for no proof could otherwise be produced that the letters from Babington were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction: and the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them, was by no means conclusive. In order to screen themselves, they might throw the blame on her; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice, without violating that oath of fidelity which they had taken, in consequence of their office; and their perjury, in one instance, rendered them unworthy of credit in another. Besides, they were not confronted with her, though she desired that they might, and affirmed, that they would never, to her face, persist in their evidence.

But the condemnation of the queen of Scots, not justice, was the object of this unprecedented trial; and the sentence, after many hesitations and delays, was carried into execution. Never did Mary appear so great, as in this last scene of her life; she was not only tranquil, but intrepid and magnanimous. When Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been excluded for some weeks from her presence, was permitted to take his last A. D. 1577. farewell, he burst into tears; bewailing the condition of a mistress whom he loved, as well as his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry into Scotland the news of such a mournful event, as the catastrophe that awaited her. "Weep not, good Melvil," said she, "there is at present greater

the king of Spain for transferring to him her claim to the English crown, and disinheriting her heretical son; that she had even entered into a conspiracy against James; had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland; and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be freed but on condition of his becoming Catholic. See Letter to Charles Paget, May 20, 1586, in Dr. Forbes's Collect. and Murden, p. 506.

"cause

“ cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart
 “ delivered from all her caies, and such an end put to her
 “ tedious sufferings as she has long expected. But witness
 “ that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity to-
 “ wards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France.
 “ Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing
 “ injurious to his kingdom, to his honours, or to his rights;
 “ and God forgive all those who have thirsted without cause
 “ for my blood.” On ascending the scaffold, she began,
 with the aid of her women, to take off her veil and upper
 garments; and the executioner rudely endeavouring to assist
 them, she gently checked him, and smiling said, “ I have not
 “ been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor
 “ to be served by such valets!” and, soon after, laid her
 head on the block, with calm but undaunted fortitude ⁴⁰.

Such, my dear Philip, was the fate of Mary Stuart, queen
 of Scotland, and dowager of France, one of the most ami-
 able and accomplished of her sex; who, in the forty-fifth
 year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in Eng-
 land, fell a victim to the jealousy and to the fears of an of-
 fended rival. But although Mary’s trial was illegal, and her
 execution arbitrary, history will not permit us to suppose,
 that her actions were at no time criminal. With all the or-
 naments both of body and mind, which can embellish the
 female character, she had many of the weaknesses of a wo-
 man; and our sympathy with her long and accumulated
 sufferings, seen through the medium of her beauty, only per-
 haps could prevent us from viewing her, notwithstanding

40. *La Mort de la Reine d’Ecosse*, ap. Jebb. Camden. Spotswood. The
 truth of history forbids me to conceal, that Mary was supported during this
 awful catastrophe, by the consolations of a superstitious devotion. After
 throwing herself upon her knees, and repeating prayers from the *Office of the*
Virgin, she pressed the crucifix to her lips; and then looking upon it, eagerly
 exclaimed, “ O Christ! thou wast extended on the cross to save mankind,
 “ when they were lost. Pardon my transgressions, and stretch out thy arms
 “ to receive me in mercy.” *Id. ibid.* Stuart, book viii.

her elegant qualities, with some degree of that abhorrence which is excited by the pollution of the marriage-bed and the guilt of murder ⁴¹.

Elizabeth, when informed of Mary's execution, affected the utmost surprize and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and weeds of mourning, were all employed to display the greatness of her sorrow. She even undertook to make the world believe, that the queen of Scots, her dear sister and kinswoman, had been put to death without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclination; and, to complete this farce, she commanded Davison, her secretary, to be thrown into prison, under pretence that he had exceeded his commission, in dispatching the fatal warrant; which, although she had signed, she never meant to carry into execution ⁴².

This hypocritical disguise was assumed chiefly to appease the young king of Scotland, who seemed determined to employ the whole force of his dominions, in order to revenge his mother's death. He recalled his ambassador from England, refused to admit the English envoy into his presence, and with difficulty condescended to receive a memorial from the queen. Every thing bore the appearance of war. Many

41. All cotemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance and elegance of shape of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black: though, according to the fashion of the times, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her complexion was exquisitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of an height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal ease. Her taste for music was just; and she sung sweetly, and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Robertson, from Brantome.

42. Camden. After thus freely censuring Elizabeth, and shewing the defectiveness of the evidence against Mary, I am bound to own, that it appears from a passage in her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 2th of July 1586, that she had accepted Babington's offer to assassinate the English queen. "As to Babington," says she, "he hath kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means, to be employed any way I would. Whereupon I hope to have satisfied him by two of my several Letters, since I had his." (*Murden's Collect.* p. 533). This incontestible evidence puts her guilt beyond all controversy.

of his nobility instigated him to take up arms immediately, and the catholics recommended an alliance with Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger of such a league. After allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her: and these joined to the queen's dissimulation, and the pacific disposition of that prince, prevailed over his resentment: He fell gradually into a good understanding with the court of England.

While Elizabeth was thus ensuring the tranquillity of her kingdom from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not inattentive to more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip was secretly preparing that prodigious armament which had for its object no less than the entire conquest of England, she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage the coasts of his dominions, and destroy his shipping: and that gallant commander, besides other advantages, was so successful as to burn, in the harbour of Cadiz, an hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores. About the same time Thomas Cavendish, a private adventurer, launched into the South Sea in three small ships; committed great depredations on the Spaniards in those parts; took many rich prizes; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in a kind of triumph.^{43.}

By these fortunate enterprizes, the English seamen learned to despise the large unwieldy ships of the enemy, in which chiefly they placed their hopes of success. The naval magazines of Spain were destroyed, and means were taken to prevent Philip from being able suddenly to repair the loss, by an artificial run upon the bank of Genoa, whence he expected a large loan; a measure which was conducted by an English merchant, in conjunction with his foreign correspondents,

43. Monson's *Naval Tracts*.

and does great honour to the sagacity of the English ministry⁴⁴. The sailing of the Armada was retarded for twelve months; and the queen had thereby leisure to take more effectual measures against that formidable fleet and army, intended for the invasion of her kingdom.

Meanwhile Philip, whose resolution was finally taken, determined to execute his ambitious project with all possible force and effect. No longer secret in his purpose, every part of his European dominions resounded with the noise of armaments, and the treasures of both Indies were exhausted in vast preparations for war. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artificers were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force: naval stores were bought up at great expence; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime provinces, and plans laid for such an embarkation as had never before appeared on the ocean.

The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling to reinforce the duke of Parma; who employed all the carpenters he could procure, in building flat-bottomed vessels, to transport into England an army of thirty-five thousand men, assembled in the Netherlands. This
A. D. 1588.
fleet of transports was intended to join the grand

Armada, vainly denominated *invincible*, which was to set sail from Lisbon; and after chasing out of the way all the Flemish and English vessels, which it was supposed would make little if any resistance, to enter the Thames; to land the whole Spanish army in the neighbourhood of London, under the command of the duke of Parma, and other experienced officers, and to decide, at one blow, the fate of Eng-

44. For this anecdote relative to the bank of Geneva we are indebted to the intriguing spirit, and inquisitive disposition of bishop Burnet, who conjectures that it was thought too great a *mystery of state* to be communicated to Camden, when the materials were put into his hands for writing the History of the reign of Elizabeth. *Own Times*, book ii.

laud. The success of the enterprize was never called in question; so that several Spanish and Italian noblemen embarked as volunteers, to share in the glory of so great a conquest.

Elizabeth was apprised of all these preparations. She had foreseen the invasion; nor was she dismayed at the aspect of that power, by which all Europe apprehended she must be overwhelmed. Her force was indeed very unequal to Philip's: all the sailors in England did not then exceed fifteen thousand men: the royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size, and none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates. But the city of London fitted out thirty vessels to reinforce this small navy; the other sea-port towns a proportional number; and the nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned, forty-three vessels at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was appointed admiral, and took on him the chief command; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth; and a smaller squadron, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma⁴⁵.

The land forces of England were more numerous than those of the enemy, but inferior in discipline and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast, with orders to retire backwards, and waste the country, if they could not prevent the Spaniards from landing; twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital; and the principal army, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hunston, was reserved for guarding the queen's person, and appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear⁴⁶.

45. Monson, ubi sup.

46. Camden.

These armies, though all the Spanish forces had been able to land, would possibly have been sufficient to protect the liberties of their country. But as the fate of England, in that event, must depend on the issue of a single battle, all men of serious reflection entertained the most awful apprehensions of the shock of at least fifty thousand veterans, commanded by experienced officers, under so consummate a general as the duke of Parma. The queen alone was undaunted. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource, which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She even appeared on horse-back in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a chearful and animated countenance, exhorting the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. "I know," said she, intrepidly, "I have but the weak and feeble arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too"⁴⁷!

The heroic spirit of Elizabeth communicated itself to the army, and every man resolved to die rather than desert his station. Meanwhile the Spanish Armada, after various obstructions, appeared in the Channel. It consisted of an hundred and thirty vessels, of which near one hundred were galleons, and carried about twenty thousand land forces. Effingham, who was informed of its approach by a Scotch pirate, saw it, just as he could get out of Plymouth Sound, coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly described by the his-

⁴⁷ Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. v. note (BB):

torians of that age, without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the Armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders, and as the most magnificent that had ever appeared on the main, they assert, That, although the ships bore every sail, it yet advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean had groaned with supporting, and the winds been tired with impelling so enormous a weight ⁴⁸.

The English admiral at first gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, on account of the size of their ships, and the number of soldiers on board; but a few trials convinced him, that even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was of no advantage to the enemy. Their bulk exposed them to the fire, while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English men of war. Every thing conspired to the ruin of this vast armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon of Andalusia, and a large ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced Essex, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with disorder and precipitation: the English commanders fell upon them while in confusion; and besides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve ships.

It was now evident that the purpose of the Armada was utterly frustrated; and the duke of Parma, whose vessels were calculated for transporting soldiers, not for fighting, positively refused to leave the harbour, while the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral, after many unsuccessful rencounters, prepared therefore to make his way home; but as the winds were contrary to his return through the Channel, he resolved to take the circuit of the island. The English fleet followed him for some time; and had not

48. Camden. Bentivoglio.

their ammunition fallen short, through the negligence of the public offices in supplying them, they had obliged the Armada to surrender at discretion.

Such a conclusion of that vain-glorious enterprize would have been truly illustrious to the English, but the event was scarce less fatal to the Spaniards. The Armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys; and the ships having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep at sea, while the mariners, unaccustomed to hardships, and unable to manage such unweildy vessels, allowed them to drive on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen: yet Philip, whose command of temper was equal to his ambition, received with an air of tranquillity the news of so humbling a disaster. "I sent my fleet," said he, "to combat the English, not the elements. God be praised that the calamity is not greater ⁴⁹."

While the naval power of Spain was receiving this signal blow, great revolutions happened in France. The Hugonots, notwithstanding the valour of the king of Navarre, who had gained at Coutras, in 1587, a complete victory over the royal army, were reduced to the greatest extremity by the power of the League; and the exorbitant ambition of the duke of Guise, joined to the idolatrous admiration of the Catholics, who considered him as a Saviour, and the king as unworthy of the throne, only could have preserved the reformers from utter ruin. The citizens of Paris, where the duke was most popular, took arms against their sovereign, and obliged him to abandon his capital at the hazard of his life; while the doctors of the Sorbonne declared, "That a weak prince may be removed from the government of his kingdom, as a tutor or guardian, unfit for his office, may be deprived of his trust ⁵⁰."

49. Ferreras. Strada.

50. Cayet.

Henry's spirit was roused, by the dread of degradation, from that lethargy in which it had long reposed. He dissimulated his resentment; entered into a negotiation with Guise and the League; seemed outwardly reconciled, but harboured vengeance in his heart. And that vengeance was hastened by an insolent speech of the duchess de Montpensier, the duke of Guise's sister; who shewing a pair of gold scissars, which she wore at her girdle, said, "The best use
 " that I can make of them is, to clip the hair of a prince
 " unworthy to sit on the throne of France, in order to qua-
 " lify him for a cloister, that *ONE more deserving to reign* may
 " mount it, and repair the losses which religion and the
 " state have suffered through the weakness of his prede-
 " cessor⁵¹."

After Henry had fully taken his resolution, nine of his guards, singled out by Loignac, first gentleman of his bed-chamber, were introduced to him in his palace. He put a poinard into each of their hands, informed them of their business, and concluded thus: "It is an execution of justice,
 " which I command you to make on the greatest criminal
 " in my kingdom, and whom all laws, human and divine,
 " permit me to punish; but not having the ordinary me-
 " thods of justice in my power, I authorise you, by the right
 " inherent in my royal authority, to strike the blow." They were secretly disposed in the passage, which led from the
 Dec. 23. king's chamber to his cabinet; and when the duke of Guise came to receive audience, six poinards were at once plunged into his breast⁵². He groaned and expired.

"I am now a king, Madam!" said Henry, entering the apartment of the queen-mother, "and have no competitor;
 " the duke of Guise is dead." The cardinal of Guise also was dispatched, a man more violent than even his brother. Among other insolent speeches, he had been heard to say,

51. P. Daniel.

52. Davila. Du Tillot.

that he would hold the king's head between his knees till the tonsure was performed at the monastery of the Capuchin⁵³.

These cruel executions, which their necessity alone can excuse, had an effect very different from what Henry expected. The partizans of the League were inflamed with the utmost rage against him, and every where flew to arms. Rebellion was reduced into a system. The doctors of the Sorbonne had the arrogance to declare, "That the people were released from their oath of allegiance to Henry of Valois:" and the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, was chosen by the League *Lieutenant General of the State Royal and Crown of France*; an unknown A. D. 1589. and unintelligible title, but which was meant as a substitute for sovereignty⁵⁴.

In this extremity, the king, almost abandoned by his Catholic subjects, entered into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre. He enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; and being still supported by his chief nobility, and the princes of the blood, he was enabled, by all those means, to assemble an army of forty thousand men. With these forces the two kings advanced to the gates of Paris, and were ready to crush the League, and subdue all their enemies, when the desperate resolution of one man gave a new turn to the affairs of France.

James Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguished the age, and of which we have seen so many horrid examples, had embraced the pious resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the danger which now threatened it, in consequence of the alliance between Henry III. and the Hugonots: and being admitted into the king's presence, Aug. 1. under pretence of important business, he mortally wounded that prince, while reading some supposed dispatches,

⁵³. Thuanus.

⁵⁴. Mezeray.

and was himself instantly put to death by the guards. This assassination left the succession open to the king of Navarre; who, as next heir to the crown, assumed the government under the title of Henry IV. But the reign of that great prince, and the various difficulties which he was obliged to encounter, before he could settle his kingdom, must be reserved for a future letter.

In the mean time, I cannot help observing, that the monk who had thus imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, was considered at Paris as a saint and a martyr: he was exalted above Judith, and his image was impiously placed on the altars. Even pope Sixtus V. so deservedly celebrated for his dignity of mind, as well as for the superb edifices with which he adorned Rome, was so much infected with the general contagion, that he compared Clement's enterprize to the incarnation of the Word, and the resurrection of the Saviour ⁵⁶!

This observation leads me to another. These holy assassinations, so peculiar to the period that followed the Reformation, proceeded chiefly from the fanatical application of certain passages in the Old Testament to the conjunctures of the times. Enthusiasm taught both protestants and catholics to consider themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and possessing the only true religion, without allowing themselves coolly to reflect, that the adherents of each had an equal right to this vain pretension. The protestants founded it on the purity of their principles, the catholics on the antiquity of their church; and while impelled by their own vindictive passions, by personal animosity or party zeal, to the commission of murder, they imagined they heard the voice of God commanding them to execute vengeance on his and their enemies.

55. Thuanus. Davila. Mezeray.

56. Ibid.

L E T T E R LXX.

The general View of EUROPE continued from the Accession of HENRY IV. to the Peace of VERVINS, in 1598.

THE reign of Henry IV. justly styled the Great, forms one of the most memorable epochs in the history of France. The circumstances of the times, the character of the prince and of the man, all conspire to render it interesting: and his connections with other Christian powers, either as allies or enemies, make it an object of general importance. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon him, as the hero of its military theatre, and the centre of its political system. Philip and Elizabeth were now but secondary actors.

The prejudices entertained against Henry's religion made one-half of the royal army desert him, on his accession; and it was only by signing certain propositions, favourable to their religion, and promising to listen to the arguments of their doctors, that he could engage any of the catholic nobility to support his title to the crown. The desertion of his troops obliged him to abandon the siege of Paris, and retire into Normandy. Thither he was followed by the forces of the League. These forces were commanded by the duke of Mayenne, who had proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon king, under the name of Charles X. although that old man, thrown into prison on the assassination of the Guises, was still confined in the castle of Fontenai-le-Compte, in Poitou¹.

In this extremity, Henry had recourse to the queen of England, and found her well disposed to assist him; to oppose the progress of the Catholic League, and of the king of Spain, her dangerous and inveterate enemy, who entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. Conscious of Henry's

¹ Davila, lib. x. Mezeray, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. vi.

necessities, Elizabeth sent him immediately a present of twenty-two thousand pounds, in order to prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries; and embarked, with all expedition, a reinforcement of four thousand men, under the command of lord Willoughby, an officer of abilities. Meanwhile the king of France had been so fortunate as to secure Dieppe and Caen, and to repulse the duke of Mayenne, who had attacked him under the cannon of the Arques, where he lay entrenched. On the arrival of the English forces, he marched immediately toward Paris, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, and had almost taken the city by storm; but the duke of Mayenne entering it soon after with his army, Henry judged it prudent to retire.

The king's forces were still much inferior to those of the League; but what was wanting in numbers, was made up in valour. He attacked the duke of Mayenne at Ivry, and gained a complete victory over him, though supported by a select body of Spanish troops, detached from the Netherlands. Henry's behaviour on this occasion was truly heroic. "My lads," said he to his soldiers, "if you should lose sight of your colours, rally towards this," pointing to a large white plume which he wore in his hat:—"you will always find it in the road to honour. God is with us!" added he emphatically, drawing his sword, and rushing into the thickest of the enemy; but when he perceived their ranks broken, and great havoc committed in the pursuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen returned, and led him to cry, "Spare my French subjects!" forgetting that they were his enemies.

2. Davila, lib. xi. The same great historian tells us, That a youth who carried the royal white coronet, and a page who wore a large white plume, the first of the latter, being slain, the ranks began to give way; some falling to the right, some to the left; till they recognized Henry, by his plume and his horse, fighting desperately, with his sword in his hand, in the first line, and returned to the charge; shutting themselves close together, like a wedge. Id. *ibid.*

Soon after this victory died the cardinal of Bourbon, and the king invested Paris. That city contained two hundred and twenty thousand souls, animated by religious enthusiasm, and Henry's army did not amount to fifteen thousand men; yet he might certainly have reduced it by famine, if not by other means, had not his paternal tenderness for his people, perhaps ill-timed, made him forget the duty of a soldier, and relax the rigour of war. He left a free passage to the old men, women, and children; he permitted the peasants, and even his own men, to carry provisions secretly to the besieged. "I would rather never possess Paris," said he, when blamed for this indulgence, "than acquire it by the destruction of its citizens³." He feared no reproach so much as that of his own heart.

Meantime the duke of Parma, by order of the king of Spain, left the Low Countries, where he was hard pressed by prince Maurice, and hastened to the relief of Paris. On his approach Henry raised the siege, and offered him battle; but that consummate general having performed the important service for which he was detached, prudently declined the combat. And so great was his skill in the art of war, that he retired in the face of the enemy, without affording them an opportunity of attacking him, or so much as putting his army into disorder! and reached his government, where his presence was much wanted, without sustaining any loss in those long marches. The States, however, were gainers by this expedition: prince Maurice had made rapid progress during the absence of the duke.

After the retreat of the Spaniards, Henry made several fresh attempts upon Paris, which was his grand object; but the vigilance of the citizens, particularly of the faction of Sixteen, by which it was governed, defeated all his designs;—and new dangers poured in upon him from every side. When the duke of Parma retired, he left eight thousand men with

3. P. Daniel, tom. ix.—Thuan. lib. xcix.

the duke of Mayenne, for the support of the League; and pope Gregory XIV. at the request of the king of Spain, not only declared Henry a relapsed heretic, and ordered all the catholics to abandon him, under pain of excommunication, but sent his nephew with troops and money to join the duke of Savoy, who was already in possession of Provence, and had entered Dauphiné. About the same time the young duke of Guise made his escape from the castle of Tours, where he had been confined since the assassination of his father. All that the king said, when informed of these dangers was, "The more enemies we have, the more care we must take, and the more honour there will be in beating them ⁴."

Elizabeth, who had withdrawn her troops, on the first prosperous appearance of Henry's affairs, now saw the necessity of again interposing. She sent him three thousand men, under Sir John Norris, who had commanded with reputation in the Low Countries; and afterwards four thousand, under the earl of Essex, a young nobleman, who by many exterior accomplishments, and much real merit, was daily rising into favour; and seemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. With these supplies, joined to an army of thirty five thousand men, Henry entered Normandy, according to his agreement with Elizabeth, and formed the siege of Rouen. The place made an obstinate resistance; but as the army of the League was unable to keep the field, it must soon have been obliged to surrender, if an unexpected event had not procured it relief. The duke of Parma, by order of Philip, again left his government; and advancing to Rouen, with rapid marches, a second time robbed Henry of his prey, by obliging him to raise the siege.

The gallant monarch, burning with revenge, again boldly offered his antagonist battle; again pursued him; and the

4. Id. ibid. *Davila, lib. xi.

duke, by a wonderful piece of generalship, and in spite of the greatest obstacles, a second time made good his retreat to the Netherlands⁵.

Henry was in some measure consoled for this disappointment, by hearing that Lefdiguières had recovered Provence, chased the duke of Savoy over the mountains, and made incursions even to the gates of Turin; that the viscount de Turenne had vanquished and slain the marshal of Lorraine, while Thammes had defeated the duke de Joyeuse, who commanded for the League in Languedoc, and killed two thousand men; that la Valette, the new governor of Provence, had retaken Antibes, and the
A. D. 1592.
Spaniards been baffled in an attempt upon Bayonne⁶.

Meanwhile all things were hastening to a crisis between the parties. The faction of Sixteen, which was entirely in the interest of Spain, its principal members being pensioners of Philip, had hanged the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two of the judges, for not condemning to death a man obnoxious to the junto, but against whom no crime was found. The duke of Mayenne, on the other hand, afraid of being crushed by that faction, had caused four of the Sixteen to be executed in the same manner. The duke of Parma, on the part of Philip, pressed the duke of Mayenne to call an assembly of the states, in order to deliberate on the election of a king; and the catholics of Henry's party gave him clearly to understand, that they expected he would now declare himself on the article of religion.

The king and the duke of Mayenne were equally sensible of the necessity of complying with these demands, though alike disagreeable to each. The states were convoked; and the duke of Parma, under pretence of supporting their resolutions, was ready to enter France with a powerful army, in order to forward the views of Philip. But the death of that great general at Arras, where he was assembling his forces,

5. Davila, lib. xii, xiii. Thuanus, lib. ciji.

6. Id. ibid.

freed

freed the duke of Mayenne from a dangerous rival, Henry from a formidable enemy, and perhaps France from becoming a province of Spain.

The states, however, or more properly the heads of the catholic faction, met according to the edict, A. D. 1523. Jan. 23. at Paris; and the pope's legate there proposed, that they should bind themselves by an oath never to be reconciled to the king of Navarre, even though he should embrace the catholic faith. This motion was opposed by the duke of Mayenne and the majority of the assembly, but supported by the Spanish faction; and as there was yet no appearance of Henry's changing his religion, the duke of Feria, Philip's ambassador, after attempting to gain the duke of Mayenne, by offering him the sovereignty of Burgundy, together with a vast sum of money, boldly proposed, That the states should chuse the infanta Eugenia queen, as the nearest relation of Henry III. and the archduke, Albert, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage, king in her right. The most zealous of the Sixteen revolted against this proposal; declaring, that they could never think of admitting at once or two foreign sovereigns. The duke of Feria changed his ground. He proposed the infanta, on condition that she should espouse a prince of France, including the house of Lorraine, the nomination to be left to his catholic majesty; and, at length, he fixed on the young duke of Guise. Had the last proposal been made first, it is possible that Philip might have carried his point; but now the duke of Mayenne, unwilling to become dependent on his nephew, pretended to dispute the ambassador's power: and the parliament of Paris, as supposed through his influence, published a decree, declaring such a treaty contrary to the Salic law, which being a fundamental principle of the government, could on no account whatsoever be set aside⁷.

While these disputes were agitated at Paris, Henry was

⁷ Davila, lib. xii. P. Henault, tom. ii.

pushing his military operations; but he was become sensible, notwithstanding his successes, that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himself master of his kingdom. The catholics of his party grew daily more importunate to know his sentiments in regard to religious matters; and their jealousy on this point seemed to increase, in proportion as he approached to the full possession of his throne. Though a protestant, he was no bigot to his sect; he considered theological differences as subordinate to the public good; and therefore appointed conferences to be held between the divines of the two religions, that he might be enabled to take, with more decency, that step, which the security of his crown, and the happiness of his subjects, now made necessary.

In these conferences, if we may credit the celebrated marquis de Rosni (afterwards duke of Sully, and prime minister to Henry) the protestant divines even allowed themselves to be won over, in order to furnish the king with a better pretext for embracing that religion which it was so much his interest to believe. But however that might be, it is certain, that the more moderate protestants, and Rosni among others, were convinced of the necessity of such a step; and that Henry, soon after the taking of July 25. Dreux, solemnly made his abjuration at St. Dennis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges³.

This measure, however, though highly agreeable to the body of the French nation, was not immediately followed by

8. Id. *ibid.* Nothing can more strongly demonstrate the propriety of such a measure, that the reflections of Davila, a living and intelligent observer of the times. "The king's conversion," says he, "was certainly the most powerful remedy that could be applied to the dangerous disease of the nation. But the usage by which it was preceded, did also dispose men's minds for the working of so wholesome a medicine; for the people on both sides having begun to taste the security and the benefits that result from concord, in a season when *hunger* and *vintage* made them more sensible of the happiness, they fell so in love with it, that it was afterward more easy to incline them to a desire of peace, and a willing obedience under their lawful prince." *Hist. lib.* xiv.

those beneficial consequences which were expected from it. The more zealous catholics suspected Henry's sincerity: they considered his abjuration merely as a device to deceive the League; and as the personal safety of many, who had distinguished themselves by their violence, was concerned in obstructing his progress, they had recourse to their former expedient of assassination, in which they were encouraged by their priests. Several attempts were made against the king's life. The zealous Hugonots, on the other hand, became more diffident of Henry's intentions toward their sect; and his protestant allies, particularly the queen of England, expressed much indignation at this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the League and king of Spain were still their common enemies, Elizabeth at last admitted his apologies. She continued her supplies of men and money; and time soon produced a wonderful alteration in the affairs of the French monarch, and evinced the wisdom of the step which he had taken, though not entirely conformable to the laws of honour, and consequently a reproach on his private character.

The marquis de Vitry, governor of Meaux, was the first man of rank, who shewed the example of a return to duty. He had often solicited the duke of Mayenne, as the cause of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king; but receiving no satisfaction from that nobleman, he resolved to follow the dictates of his own heart. He ordered the garrison to evacuate the town; and having assembled the magistrates, delivered to them the keys. "Gentlemen," said he, "I scorn to steal an advantage, or make a fortune at other men's expence. I am going to pay my allegiance to the king, and leave it in your power to act as you please." The magistrates, after a short deliberation, agreed to send a deputation to Henry, in order to make their submissions and intreat him to return their governor. The deputies were so confounded at their audience, that they were incapable of speech, but threw themselves at the king's feet.

feet. Having viewed them for some moments in that condition, Henry burst into tears; and lifting them up, said, "Come not as enemies to crave forgiveness, but as children to a father always willing to receive you with open arms."

The popularity acquired by this reception greatly promoted the royal cause. Henry was crowned with much solemnity at Chartres, and every thing seemed to promise a speedy pacification. A. D. 1591. La Chastre delivered up the provinces of Orleansois and Berri, of which he was governor, and d'Alaincourt the city of Pontoise; the duke of Mayenne retired from Paris; and the count de Brisac, who commanded the French garrison (for there was also a Spanish one), privately admitted the king into his capital, of which he took possession almost without shedding blood. Villars, who had so gallantly defended Rouen for the League, surrendered that city on conditions; and a multitude of other places either offered terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The duke d'Elbeuf, of the house of Lorraine, who had seized the government of Poitou, declared for the king. The young duke of Guise also made his peace with Henry. Baligny, who still held the principality of Cambray, submitted; and marshal d'Aumont, with the assistance of an English fleet and army, made himself master of Morlais, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns guarded by the Spanish forces in Brittany, while the king in person besieged and took Laon. On this advantage Amiens, and great part of Picardy, acknowledged his sway¹⁰.

In the midst of these successes Henry was on the point of perishing by the hand of a desperate assassin. On his return from Picardy to Paris, John Chastel, a young fanatic, educated among the Jesuits, struck him on the mouth with a knife, while he was saluting one of his courtiers, in a chamber of the Louvré, and beat out one of his

Dec. 27.

9. *Mem. pour servir a l'Hist. de France*, tom. ii.

10. Davila. Mezeray. Dupleix.

teeth. The blow was intended for the king's throat; but fortunately, his stooping prevented it from striking that dangerous part. The assassin was seized, avowed his principles, and was executed. On his examination, he confessed that he had frequently heard his ghostly preceptors say, that king-killing was lawful; and that as Henry IV. had not yet been absolved by the pope, he thought he might kill him with a safe conscience. Some writings to the same purpose were found in the possession of father Guisgard, who was condemned to suffer the punishment appointed for treason; and all the Jesuits were banished the kingdom, by a decree of the parliament of Paris ¹¹.

While these things were passing in France, war was still carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. The confederates not only continued to maintain the struggle for liberty, but even rose superior to the power of Spain. Prince Maurice surpris'd Breda; and, by the assistance of the English forces, under Sir Francis Vere, he took Gertruydenberg and Groningen, after two the most obstinate and best conducted sieges recorded in history. Count Mansveldt, an able and experienced officer, who had succeeded the duke of Parma in the chief command, beheld the taking of the first with an army superior to the prince's, without being able to force his lines; and Verdugo, the Spanish general, dur'd not attempt the relief of the second, though the garrison made a gallant defence ¹².

The progress of the confederates, however, did not prevent the archduke Ernest, now governor of the Low Countries, from sending ten thousand men to lay waste the frontiers of France; and Henry, who had long been engaged in hostilities with Philip, was provoked by this fresh insult, as well as encouraged by his own successes and those of the confederates, to declare war against Spain. A. D. 1595. He led an army in person into Burgundy; took the cas-

¹¹. Davila, lib. xiv. Henault, tom. ii.

¹². Bentivoglio. Grotius. Metern.

cles of Dijon and Talan; expelled the Spaniards from that province; obliged the Duke of Mayenne to sue for an accommodation, and received absolution from the pope.

But while this great prince, rendered too confident by good fortune, was employed in a wild and fruitless expedition into Franche Comté, in compliance with the ambition of his mistress, the fair Gabrielle d'Etrées, who wanted a principality for her son Cæsar, a Spanish army, under the command of don Pedro de Gusman, conde de Fuentes, reduced Dourlens, Catelet, and Cambray. In balance, however, of these losses, the duke of Guise surprised Marseilles, and Henry concluded his negotiation A. D. 1595. with the duke of Mayenne; who, charmed with the generous reception which he met with on his submission, continued ever after firmly attached to the king's person and government.

When informed of the taking of Marseilles, Henry was so much elated, that he exclaimed in a kind of transport of joy, "then I am at last a king!" His joy, however, was but of short duration. The archduke Albert, who had succeeded on the death of his brother to the government of the Low Countries, sent an army to besiege Calais: and that fortress, not being in a proper state of defence, the garrison was obliged to surrender, before the king could march with a sufficient force to its relief.

This unfortunate event was soon followed by another. While Henry was in the utmost distress for the loss of Calais, which fanned the dying ashes of the League.—While harassed by the complaints of the Hugonots, and chagrined at the extravagant demands of the dukes of Savoy and Mercœur, who were still in arms against him, and took occasion from his disasters to exalt their conditions,—he received intelligence that Portocarero, the Spanish governor of Dourlens, had made himself master of Amiens, by surprise¹³.

¹³. Dupleix, tom. vi.

¹⁴. Gayet, tom. iii.

The king of France was now ready to sink under the weight of his misfortunes. His finances were so much exhausted in buying the allegiance of his rebellious subjects, or in reducing them to their duty, that he was utterly incapable of any new effort: he was not even able to pay the few troops in his service. He had already assembled his nobles, and made them acquainted with his necessities; but they, beggared also by the civil wars, seemed little disposed to assist him, though he addressed them in the most engaging language. "I have not called you together," said he, "as my predecessors were wont, to oblige you blindly to obey my will: I have assembled you to receive your counsels; to listen to them, to follow them and to put myself entirely under your direction¹⁵."

"Give me an army," cried he, on another occasion, "and I will cheerfully venture my life for the state!"—But the means of furnishing *bread* for that army, as he pathetically complained, were not in his power.

Henry, however, was happily extricated out of all his difficulties by the fertile genius of his faithful servant, the marquis de Rosni, whom he appointed superintendant of the finances. That able minister, by loans upon the king's faith, by sums advanced upon the revenues, and other necessary expedients, enabled him to raise, in a short time, an army consisting of more than twenty thousand men. With this army, the best appointed he had ever led into the field, together with four thousand English auxiliaries, sent over by queen Elizabeth in consequence of a new treaty, Henry marched immediately to Amiens, in order to attempt the recovery of that important place. "Let us go," said he, on undertaking this arduous enterprise, "and act the king of Navarre: we have acted the king of France long enough." The Spanish garrison, composed of choice troops, and commanded by experienced officers, made an ob-

A. D. 1597.

15. *Mem. de Sully*, tom. i.

stinate defence, and allowed the archduke time to march to its relief; but Albert not being able to force the lines of the besiegers, though his army consisted of twenty-five thousand veterans, retired to Arras, and Amiens surrendered to the French monarch¹⁶.

Henry returned in triumph to Paris, where he was received with every possible mark of loyalty and respect; and after convincing all parties, that the happiness of his people was his supreme wish, and the object of all his enterprises, he marched against the duke of Mercœur, who still held part of Brittany. Surprised at this unexpected visit, and deserted by the nobility of the duchy, who hastened to make their peace with the king, the duke gave himself
A. D. 1598.
up for lost. But a lucky expedient saved him. He offered his only daughter, with the duchies of Estampes, Penthievre, and Mercœur, in marriage to Henry's natural son, Cæsar; and the king, glad of such an opportunity of gratifying the ambition of his mistress, readily agreed to the proposal¹⁷.

Henry now saw himself in full possession of his kingdom: the League was entirely dissolved; and the catholics in general seemed satisfied with his public profession of their religion. The Hugonots, his original friends, alone gave him any uneasiness. They had frequently since the king's abjuration, but more especially since his reconciliation with the see of Rome, expressed apprehensions on account of their religion. Henry soon made them easy on that point. He assembled the heads of the party at Nantes; and from motives of policy, as well as of gratitude and tenderness, passed the famous Edict bearing date from that place, and which granted them every thing that they reasonably could desire. It not only secured to them the free exercise of their religion, but a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being admitted to all employments of trust, profit, and honour¹⁸.

16. Duplex. Davila. Mezeray.

17. Davila, lib. xv. *Mém. de Sully*,

tom. ii.

18. Thuanus. Mezeray. Varillas.

During these transactions in France, the confederates were not idle in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice and Sir Francis Vere, who commanded the English forces, gained at Tournhout, in 1597, a complete victory over the Spaniards; in consequence of which that place immediately surrendered, and an incredible number of others were reduced before the close of the campaign.

Nor were the confederates less successful in other quarters. Besides the naval armaments, which Elizabeth was continually sending to annoy the Spaniards in the West Indies, and to obstruct their trade at home, a strong force was sent to Cadiz, where Philip was making vast preparations for a new invasion of England. The combined English and Dutch fleet, under lord Effingham, attacked the Spanish ships and galleys in the bay; and, after an obstinate engagement, obliged them all either to surrender, retire beneath their forts, or run ashore. The earl of Essex, who commanded the land forces, then disembarked his troops, and carried the city by assault. The plunder made there was considerable; but the resolution which the Spanish admiral took, of setting fire to a large fleet of merchant ships, richly laden, in the port, deprived the conquerors of a far more valuable booty. The loss, however, sustained by the Spaniards was not diminished by that expedient, and is computed at twenty millions of ducats ¹⁹.

Age and infirmities, together with so many disasters and disappointments, had now broken the lofty and obstinate spirit of Philip. He began to moderate his views, and offered peace to the confederates on pretty equitable terms; but as he refused to acknowledge the independency of the United Provinces, they would not negotiate with him, and Elizabeth came to the same resolution, on their account.

Henry's situation did not enable him to behave with equal firmness. France, long torn by civil dissensions, stood in

¹⁹. Birch's *Memoirs*, vol. ii.

need of peace. Philip knew it, and offered advantageous conditions to Henry, that he might be enabled, by diminishing the number of his enemies, to act with more vigour against the United Provinces. The French monarch, however, before he entered into treaty with the king of Spain, sent ambassadors to Elizabeth and the States, in order to facilitate a general agreement, and make known his pacific purpose. Both powers remonstrated against such a measure, unless the independency of the States was made its basis: Henry pleaded his necessity of negotiating; and although they blamed the step which they saw he was determined to take, they were sensible of the justice of his arguments. A separate peace was accordingly concluded, between France and Spain, at Vervins²⁰; by which Henry recovered possession of all the places seized by Philip during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself what he had long ardently desired, leisure to settle the domestic affairs of his kingdom; to cultivate the arts of peace (to which his genius was no less turned than to those of war), and to contribute to the happiness and prosperity of his people.

But before we take a view of the flourishing state of France, under the equitable government of this great and good prince, and the wise administration of Sully, or of England during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, I must carry forward the contest between Spain and the United Provinces.

20. Davila, lib. xv. Mézeray, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. vi.

L E T T E R LXXI.

SPAIN and the LOW COUNTRIES, from the Peace of VERVINS, to the Truce in 1609, when the Freedom of the UNITED PROVINCES was acknowledged.

SOON after the peace concluded between France and Spain at Vervins, a new treaty was negotiated between England and the United Provinces, in order that the war might be supported with vigour against Philip. The States, afraid of being deserted by Elizabeth, submitted to what terms she was pleased to require of them. They agreed to diminish their debt, which amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, by remitting considerable sums annually; to pay the English troops in the Low Countries; and to maintain, at their own expence, the garrisons of the cautionary towns, while England should continue the war against Spain¹.

Scarcely was this negotiation finished, when Philip II. its first object, breathed his last at Madrid; leaving behind him the character of a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive, and inexorable tyrant. With great talents for government, he failed to obtain the reputation of a great prince; because with a perfect knowledge of mankind, and the most extensive power of benefiting them, he became the great destroyer of his species, and the chief instrument of human misery. His head fitted him for the throne of Spain, and his indefatigable application for the sovereignty of both Indies: but his heart and his habit of thinking, only for the office of Grand Inquisitor. Hence he was long the terror, but never the admiration of Europe.

Nor was Philip's character more amiable or estimable in private than in public life. Beside other crimes of a domes-

1. Camden. Thuanus. Grotius.

tic nature, he was accused by William prince of Orange, in the face of all Europe, and seemingly with justice, of having sacrificed his own son, Don Carlos, to his jealous ambition : and of having poisoned his third wife, Isabella of France, that he might marry Anne of Austria, his niece². The particulars of the death of Don Carlos are sufficiently curious to merit attention. That young prince had sometimes taken the liberty to censure the measures of his father's government in regard to the Netherlands, and was even suspected of a design of putting himself at the head of the insurgents, in order to prevent the utter ruin of his future subjects, for whose sufferings he had often expressed his compassion. In consequence of this suspicion he was put under confinement ; and although several princes interceded for his release, his father was inexorable. The inquisition, through the influence of the king, who on all great occasions consulted the members of that ghostly tribunal, passed sentence against the unhappy Carlos ; and the inhuman and unnatural Philip, under cover of that sentence, ordered poison, which proved effectual in a few hours, to be administered to his son and heir of empire³.

No European prince ever possessed such vast resources as Philip II. Besides his Spanish and Italian dominions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he enjoyed the whole East India commerce, and reaped the richest harvest of the American mines. But his prodigious armaments, his intrigues in France and in England, and his long and expensive wars in the Low Countries, exhausted his treasures, and enriched those whom he fought to subdue ; while the Spaniards, dazzled with the sight of the precious metals, and elated with an idea of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures, and were obliged, as at present, to depend on their more industrious neighbours for the luxuries

2. See the *Manifesto* of the prince of Orange, in answer to Philip's *Proscription*.

3. Compare Thuanius, lib. xliii. with Strada, lib. vii.

as well as the necessaries of life. Spain, once a rich and fertile kingdom, became only the mint of Europe. Its wedges and ingots were no sooner coined than called for; and often mortgaged before their arrival, as the price of labour and ingenuity. The state was enfeebled, the country rendered sterile, and the people poor and miserable.

The condition of the United Provinces was in all respects the reverse of Spain. They owed every thing to their industry. By that a country naturally barren was rendered fertile, even while the scene of war. Manufactures were carried on with vigour, and commerce was extended to all the quarters of the globe. The republic was become powerful, and the people rich, in spite of every effort to enslave and oppress them. Conscious of this, the court of Madrid had changed its measures before the death of Philip. After much deliberation, that haughty monarch, despairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and desirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, transferred to his daughter Isabella, contracted to the arch-duke Albert of Austria, the **sovereignty of the Low Countries.**

Philip II. died before the celebration of the marriage, but his son Philip III. a virtuous though a weak prince, punctually executed the contract; and Albert, after taking possession of his sovereignty according to the necessary forms, wrote to the states of the United Provinces, acquainting them of that deed, and entreating them not to refuse submission to their natural princes, who would govern them with lenity, indulgence, and affection.

The States returned no answer to the archduke's letter. They were now determined to complete that independency for which they had so long struggled. But although their purpose had been less firm, there was a clause in the contract which would have produced the same resolution. It provided, that, in case the infantia left no issue, all the provinces

in the Low Countries should return to the crown of Spain; and as there was little probability of her having offspring, the states saw their danger, and avoided it, by refusing to listen to any terms of submission ⁴.

The first material step taken by Albert and Isabella for reducing their revolted subjects to obedience, was the issuing of an edict, in conjunction with the A. D. 1599. Catholic king, precluding the United Provinces all intercourse with the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, or with the Spanish Netherlands. This was a severe blow to the commerce of the States. They had hitherto, singular as it may seem, been allowed an open trade with all the Spanish dominions in Europe, and had drawn much of their wealth from that source, as well as increased by it their naval power. An idea of general advantage only could have induced Philip II. to permit such a traffic; and an experience of its balance being in favour of the republic, as will always be the case between industrious and indolent nations, made it now be prohibited under the name of an indulgence. But the interdiction was issued too late effectually to answer its end. The Dutch, already strong by sea, sent out a fleet to cruise upon the Spaniards; their land levies were prosecuted with great diligence; and, in order to make up for the restraint upon their home trade, they turned their views toward India, where they attacked the Spaniards and Portuguese, and at length monopolized the most lucrative branch of that important commerce.

Meanwhile war was carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. Besides several bodies of Germans and Swiss, the States took into their service two thousand French veterans, disbanded by Henry IV. on the conclusion of the peace of Vervins: and that prince generously supplied the republic with money, under pretence of paying his debts. The arch-

⁴ Metern. Grotius. Bentivoglio.

duke's forces were, in like manner, much augmented by fresh levies from Spain, Italy, and Germany. Each party seemed formidable to the other, yet both were eager for the combat; and several towns had been taken, many gallantly assaulted, and no less gallantly defended on both sides, the

A. D. 1600. two armies came to a general engagement at Newport, near Ostend⁵. The field was obstinately disputed for three hours. The confederates began the battle with incredible intrepidity; and the Spanish veterans, who composed the enemy's van, received the shock with great firmness. The conflict was terrible. At length the Spaniards gave ground, but repeatedly returned to the charge, repeatedly were repulsed; and, in the issue, utterly broken and routed, with the loss of five thousand men, by the valour of the English auxiliaries, under sir Francis Vere, who led the van of the confederates⁶. We must not, however, with some of our too warm countrymen, ascribe the victory solely to English prowess. A share of the honour, at least, ought to be allowed to the military skill of prince Maurice; to a body of Swiss, immediately under his command, that supported the English troops; and to the valour of the many gallant volunteers, who had come from all parts of Europe to study the art of war under so able and experienced a general, and who strove to outdo each other in daring acts of heroism.

This victory was of the utmost importance to the United Provinces, as the defeat of their army, in the present crisis, must have been followed by the loss of their liberties, and their final ruin as independent states; but its consequences otherwise were very inconsiderable. Prince Maurice either mispent his time after the battle, or his troops, as he affirmed, were so exhausted with fatigue, as not to be fit for any

5. Grotius, lib. ix. Reidan, lib. xvii. Bentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vi.

6. Id. *ibid.*

new enterprize, till Albert was again ready to take the field with a superior army. Overtures of peace were renewed, and rejected by the States. The confederates laid
 A. D. 1601.
 siege to Rhimburg, and the archduke to Ostend.

Rhimberg was reduced, but Maurice did not think his strength sufficient to attempt the relief of Ostend.

Meantime the siege of that important place was vigorously conducted by the archduke in person, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army. The brave resistance which he met with astonished, but did not discourage him. His heart was set on the reduction of Ostend. All the resources of war were exhausted; rivers of blood were spilt, but neither side was dispirited; because both received constant supplies, the one by sea, the other from the neighbouring country. New batteries were daily raised, and assaults made without number, and without effect. The garrison commanded by Sir Francis Vere, who had gallantly thrown himself into the town, in the face of the enemy, repelled all the attempts of the Spaniards with invincible intrepidity; and at length obliged Albert to turn the siege into a kind of blockade, and commit the command to Rivas,
 A. D. 1602.
 one of his generals, while he himself went to Ghent, in order to concert new measures for accomplishing his favourite enterprize.

The States embraced this opportunity to change the garrison of Ostend, worn out and emaciated with continual fatigue and watching; and as the communication by sea was preserved open, the scheme was executed without difficulty. A fresh garrison supplied with every necessary, took charge of the town, under the command of colonel Dorp, a Dutchman, colonel Edmunds, a Scotchman, and Hertain, a Frenchman; while Sir Francis Vere, with the former garrison, joined the army under prince Maurice.

The army before Ostend, composed of Flemings, Walloons, and Spaniards, was reinforced with eight thousand Italians, under the marquis of Spinola, an officer of great
 military

military talents, to whom Albert wisely committed the conduct of the siege, after the intellectual efforts of Rivas. Spinola shewed, that no fortification, however strong, is impregnable to an able engineer, furnished with the necessary force. Ostend was reduced to a heap of ruins; A. D. 1604. and the besiegers were making preparations for the grand assault, when the governor offered to capitulate. Spinola granted the garrison honourable terms⁷.

During this memorable siege, which lasted upwards of three years, and cost the king of Spain and the archduke the lives of fourscore thousand brave soldiers, prince Maurice made himself master of Rimbach, Grave, and Siuys, acquisitions which more than balanced the loss of Ostend; and Albert, by employing all his strength against the place, was prevented, during three campaigns, from entering the United Provinces. The Dutch did not let slip the occasion, which that interval of security afforded them, to push their trade and manufactures. Every nerve was strained in labour, and every talent in ingenuity. Commerce, both foreign and domestic, flourished; Ternate, one of the Moluccas, had been gained; and the East India company, that grand pillar of the republic, was established⁸.

But as a counterpoise to these advantages, the States had lost the alliance of England, in consequence of the death of Elizabeth. James I. her successor, shewed no inclination to engage in hostilities with Spain; and concluded, soon after his accession, a treaty with that court. Through the intercession of Henry IV. however, he agreed to supply the States secretly with money: and what is very remarkable as well as honourable, it appears that James, in his treaty with Spain, had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the United Provinces⁹.

The republic, at present, stood much in need of support.

⁷ Grotius, lib. xiii. Bentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vii.

⁸ Le Clerc, lib. vii.

⁹ Winwood, vol. ii.

Philip III. now sensible that the infanta could have no issue, and consequently that the Netherlands must return to the crown of Spain, came to the resolution of carrying on the war against the revolted provinces with the whole force of his dominions. Large levies were made for that purpose, large sums were remitted to the Low Countries, and Spinola was there declared commander in chief of the Spanish and Italian forces. A. D. 1605.

The States saw their danger, and endeavoured to provide against it. They empowered prince Maurice to augment his army; they recruited their garrisons, repaired their fortifications, and every where prepared for a vigorous resistance. Spinola expected it, but was not discouraged: and his success was rapid for two campaigns, in spite of all the efforts of Maurice. But although he had made himself master of many important places, he had yet made no impression on the body of the republic; and three hundred thousand doubloons a month, the common expence of the army, was a sum too large for the Spanish treasury long to disburse, and a drain which not even the mines of Mexico and Peru could supply. His troops mutinied for want of pay. He became insensible of the impracticability of his undertaking, and delivered it as his opinion, That it was more adviseable to enjoy the ten provinces in peace and security, than to risk the loss of the whole Netherlands in pursuit of the other seven, and ruin Spain by a hazardous attempt to conquer rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty, ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion ¹⁰. A. D. 1606.

The court of Madrid was already convinced of the necessity of an accommodation; the archduke was heartily tired of the war; and the sentiments of the general had great influence both on the Spanish and Flemish councils. If the duke of Parma had failed to reduce the Seven Provinces, and

Spinola gave up the attempt, who, it was asked, could hope to subdue them?—As there was no answering such a question, it was agreed, though not without many scruples, to negotiate with the Belgian republic, as an independent state. A suspension of arms accordingly took place: conferences were opened; and, after numberless obstructions and delays, interposed by the Orange faction, whose interest it was to continue the war, a truce of twelve years was concluded at the Hague, through the mediation of France and England ¹¹. This treaty secured to the United Provinces all the acquisitions they had made, freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and the archduke, on the same footing with other foreign nations, and the full enjoyment of those civil and religious liberties for which they had so gloriously struggled ¹².

Scarce had the court of Spain finished one civil war, occasioned by persecution, when it plunged into another. Philip III. at the instigation of the inquisition, and by the advice of his minister, the duke of Lerma, no less weak than himself, issued an edict, ordering all the Morelcoes, or descendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom within the space of thirty days, under the penalty of death. These remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were chiefly employed in commerce and agriculture; and the principal reason assigned for this barbarous decree was, That they were still Mahometans in their hearts, though they conformed outwardly to the rites of Christianity, and therefore might corrupt the true faith, as well as disturb the peace of the state. Persecution prompted them to undertake what they had hitherto shewn no disposition to attempt. They chose themselves a king, and endeavoured to oppose the execution of the royal mandate; but being almost utterly unprovided with arms, they were soon obliged to submit, and all banished the kingdom ¹³.

11. Grotius. Bentivoglio. Winwood.

12. Grotius. lib. xvii.

13. Fonseca. *Traycion de Morelcoes*.

By this violent and impolitic measure, Spain lost near a million of industrious inhabitants¹⁴; and as that kingdom was already depopulated by long and bloody foreign wars, by repeated emigrations to the New World, and enervated by luxury, it now sunk into a state of languor, out of which it has never since fully recovered. The remembrance of its former strength, however, still made it terrible; and associations were formed for restraining the exorbitant power of Spain, after Spain had ceased to be powerful.

14. Geddes, *Hist. Expuls. Morfe.*

L E T T E R LXXII.

The domestic History of ENGLAND, from the Defeat of the SPANISH ARMADA, in 1588, to the Death of ELIZABETH, with some Particulars of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

THE execution of the queen of Scots, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, freed Elizabeth from all apprehensions in regard to the safety of her crown. A. D. 1588. What part she took in the affairs of France and of the United Provinces, and what attempts she made by naval armaments to annoy the Catholic king, we have already seen. We must now, my dear Philip, take a view of her domestic policy, and her domestic troubles; and of her transactions with Scotland and Ireland, from this great era of her guilt and her glory to, that of her death, which left vacant the throne of England to the house of Stuart.

The leading characteristics of Elizabeth's administration were œconomy and vigour. By a strict attention to the first, she was able to maintain a magnificent court, and to support the persecuted protestants in France and the Low Countries, without oppressing her people, or involving the crown in debt;

debt; and by a spirited exertion of the second, she humbled the pride of Spain, and gave stability to her throne, in spite of all the machinations of her enemies. After
A. D. 1593.

informing her parliament of the necessity of continuing the war against Philip, and how little she dreaded the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort than that of his Invincible Armada, she concluded thus:—"But I am informed, that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance—but I swear unto you, by God! if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be fearful in so urgent a cause¹."

Elizabeth's frugality in the administration of government, seems less, however, to have proceeded from lenity to her people than from a fear of bringing herself under the power of the commons by the necessity of soliciting larger supplies, and thereby endangering her royal prerogative, of which she was always remarkably jealous, and which she exercised with a high hand. Numberless instances of this occur during her reign. Besides erecting the Court of High Commission, which was vested with almost inquisitorial powers, and supporting the arbitrary decrees of the Star Chamber, she granted to her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies, which put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts, and enabled those who possessed them, to raise commodities to what price they pleased. Salt, in particular, was raised from sixteen pence a bushel, to fourteen or fifteen shillings², and several other articles in proportion. Almost all the necessaries of life were thus monopolized; which made a certain member cry out ironically, when the list was read over in the house, "Is not bread among the number³?"

1. D'Ewes, *Journal of Parliament*.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

These grievances were frequently complained of in parliament, but more especially by the *Puritans*; a religious sect who maintained, as the name imports, that the church of England was not yet sufficiently purged from the errors of popery, and who carried the same bold spirit that dictated their theological opinions, into their political speculations. But such complaints were made at the peril of the members, who were frequently committed to custody for undue liberty of speech; and all motions to remove those enormous grievances were suppressed, as attempts to invade the royal prerogative. The queen herself, by messages to the house, frequently admonished the commons, "Not to meddle with what nowise belonged to them (matters of state or religion), and what did not lie within the compass of their understanding;" and she warned them, "since neither her commands, nor the example of their wiser brethren (those devoted to the court) could reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, that some other species of correction must be found for them ⁴."

These messages were patiently received by the majority of the house. Nay, it was asserted, "That the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined, and did not even admit of any limitation; that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity; that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes, since, by her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure ⁵!"—But the Puritans who alone possessed any just sentiments of freedom, and who employed all their industry to be elected into parliament, still hazarded the utmost indignation of Elizabeth, in vindicating the natural rights of mankind. They continued to keep alive that precious spark of liberty which they had rekindled; and which, burning fiercer from confinement, broke out into a blaze under the two succeeding

⁴ D'Ewes, ubi sup.

⁵ Ibid.

Yeigns, and agitated, but not smothered by opposition, consumed the church and monarchy; from whose ashes, like the fabled Phoenix, singly to arrest the admiration of ages, sprung our present glorious and happy constitution.

Among the subjects which Elizabeth prohibited the parliament from taking into consideration, was the succession to the crown. But as all danger from a rival claim had expired with the queen of Scots, a motion was made by Peter Wentworth, a puritan, for petitioning her majesty to fix the succession; which, though in itself, sufficiently respectful, incensed the queen to such a degree, that she ordered Wentworth to be sent to the Tower, and all the members who seconded him to the Fleet⁶. Her malignity against Mary seems to have settled upon her son James; for she not only continued to avoid acknowledging him as her successor, though a peaceable and unambitious prince, but refused to assist him in suppressing a conspiracy of some Catholic noblemen, in conjunction with the king of Spain, their common enemy⁷. She endeavoured to keep him in perpetual dependence, by bribing his ministers, or sowing discontent among his subjects; and she appears to have been at the bottom of a conspiracy, formed by the earl of Gowrie, for seizing the king's person⁸; though not, as commonly supposed, with a design to take away his life.

Meanwhile Elizabeth's attention was much occupied by the affairs of Ireland, where the English sovereignty had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obedience to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in submission, they still relapsed into their former state of barbarous independency. Other reasons conspired to prevent a cordial union. The small army, which was maintained in Ireland, never being regularly paid, the officers

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Spotswood.

⁸ Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.

were obliged to give their soldiers the privilege of free quarters upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered; and that, together with the old opposition of manners, laws, and interests, was now heightened by religious animosity, the Irish being still Catholics, and in a great measure savages⁹.

The romantic and impolitic project of the English princes for subduing France, occasioned this inattention to the affairs of Ireland; a conquest pregnant with many solid advantages, and infinitely more suited to their condition. Elizabeth early saw the importance of that island, and took several measures for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. Besides furnishing her deputies, or governors of Ireland, with a stronger force, she founded an university in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that capital and kingdom, and of civilizing the barbarous manners of the people¹⁰. But unhappily Sir John Perrot, in 1585, being then lord deputy, put arms into the hands of the inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the English government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders; and Philip II. having, about the same time, engaged many of the Irish gentry to serve in his armies in the Low Countries, Ireland thus provided both with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms; was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war, and became more formidable to England.

Hugh O'Neale, the head of a potent clan, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but preferring the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity; he secretly fomented the discontents of his countrymen, and formed the project of rendering himself independent. Trusting, however, to the influence of

9. Spenser's *Account of Ireland*.

10. Sir John Davis. Camden.

his deceitful oaths and protestations, as he was not yet sufficiently prepared, he surrendered himself into the hands of Sir William Russell, who had been appointed the queen's deputy in Ireland; and being dismissed, in consequence of these protestations, of his pacific disposition, and retiring into his own country, he embraced the daring resolution of rising in open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity and imprudence of his enemies. His success exceeded his most sanguine hopes. After amusing Sir John Norris, sent over to reduce him to obedience, with treacherous promises and proposals of accommodation, by means of which the war was spun out for some years, he defeated the English army under Sir Henry Bagnal, who had succeeded to the command on the death of the gallant Norris, and who was left dead on the field, together with fifteen hundred men¹¹.

This victory, which mightily animated the courage of the Irish, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who now assumed the name of Deliverer of his Country, made Elizabeth sensible of the necessity of pushing the war by vigorous measures. And she appointed, at his own request, her reigning favourite the earl of Essex, ever ambitious of military fame, governor of Ireland, under the title of Lord Lieutenant; vested him with powers almost unlimited; and, in order to insure him success against the rebels, she levied an army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse. But Essex, unacquainted with the country, and misled by interested councils, disappointed the expectations of the queen and the nation; and fearing the total alienation of her affections, by the artifices of his enemies, he embraced the rash resolution of returning home, expressly contrary to her orders, and arrived at court before any one was apprized of his intentions¹².

11. Ibid.

12. Winwood, vol. i.

The sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite, whose impatience carried him to her bedchamber, where he threw himself at her feet, and kissed her hand, at first disarmed the resentment of Elizabeth. She was incapable, in that moment of soft surprize, of treating him with severity: hence Essex was induced to say, on retiring, he thanked God, that though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home¹³.

Elizabeth, however, had no sooner leisure for recollection, than her displeasure returned. All Essex's faults again took possession of her mind, and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty and imperious spirit, which, presuming on her partiality and indulgence, had ventured to disregard her instructions, and disobey her commands. She ordered him to be confined; and, A. D. 1600. by a decree of the privy council, he was deprived of all his employments, except that of Master of the Horse, and sentenced to remain a prisoner during her majesty's pleasure.

Humbled by this sentence, but still trusting to the queen's tenderness, Essex wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she deigned to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment. He had now resolved, he added, to make amends for his past errors; to retire into a rural solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field, let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my under-
"standing¹⁴."

Elizabeth, who had always declared to the world, and even to Essex himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him, was much pleased with these senti-

¹³ *Sydney's Letters*, vol. ii.

¹⁴ *Camden*.

ments; and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions. Every one expected that he would soon be restored to his former degree of credit and favour; nay, as is usual in reconciliations proceeding from tenderness, that he would acquire an additional ascendant over his fond mistress. But Essex's enemies, by whom she was continually surrounded, found means to persuade the queen, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued; and, as a farther trial of his submission, she refused to renew a patent, which he possessed for a monopoly of sweet wines. She even accompanied her refusal with an insult. "An ungovernable beast," added she, "must be stinted in its provender"¹⁵.

Essex, who had with difficulty restrained his proud heart so long, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining, from this fresh instance of severity, that the queen was become inexorable, gave full rein to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Already high in the public favour, he practised anew every art of popularity. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech; particularly in regard to the queen's person, which was still an object of her vanity, and on which she allowed herself to be complimented, though approaching to her seventieth year. And what was, if possible, still more mortifying to Elizabeth, he made secret applications to the king of Scotland, her heir and presumptive successor, offering to extort an immediate declaration in his favour¹⁶.

But James, although sufficiently desirous of securing the succession of England, and though he had negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to procure support to his hereditary title, did not approve of the violent means which Essex proposed to employ for that end. His natural timidity of temper made him averse against any bold expedient; and he was afraid, if the attempt should fail, that Elizabeth

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Birch's Mem. vol. ii.

might be induced to take some extraordinary step to his prejudice. Essex, however, continued to make use of that prince's claim, as a colour for his rebellious projects. A select council of malcontents was formed; and it was agreed to seize the palace, to oblige the queen to remove all Essex's enemies, to call a parliament, and to settle the succession, together with a new plan of government ¹⁷.

Elizabeth had some intimation of these desperate resolutions. Essex was summoned to attend the council; but he received a private note, which warned A. D. 1601. him to provide for his safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered; excused himself to the council, on account of a pretended indisposition; and, as he judged it impracticable to seize the palace without more preparations, he sallied forth, at the head of about two hundred followers, and attempted to raise the city. But the citizens, though much attached to his person, shewed no disposition to join him. In vain did he tell them, that his life was in danger, and that England was sold to the Spaniards. They flocked about him in amazement, but remained silent and inactive: and Essex, despairing of success, retreated with difficulty to his own house. There he seemed determined to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to die, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than ignominiously by the hands of the executioner; but, after some parley, his resolution failed him, and he surrendered at discretion ¹⁸.

Orders were immediately given for the trial of Essex, and the most considerable of the other conspirators. Their guilt was too notorious to admit of any doubt, and sentence was pronounced accordingly. The queen, who had behaved with the utmost composure during the insurrection now appeared all agitation and irresolution. The unhappy condition of Essex awakened her fondness afresh: resentment and affection shared her breast at turns; the care of her own

¹⁷ Camden.

¹⁸ Ibid.

safety, and concern for her favourite. She signed the warrant for his execution, she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death, she felt a new return of tenderness. She waited impatiently for the intercession of a friend, to whom she might yield that forgiveness, which of herself she was ashamed to grant. No such friend appeared; and Elizabeth, imagined this ungrateful neglect to proceed from Essex's haughtiness; from a pride of spirit, which obtained to solicit her clemency, at last permitted the sentence to be put in execution¹⁹. He was privately beheaded in the Tower, to prevent the danger of a popular insurrection.

Such was the untimely fate of Robert d'Evreux, earl of Essex. Brave, generous, affable, incapable of disguising his own sentiments or of misrepresenting those of others, he possessed the rare felicity of being at once the favourite of his sovereign, and the darling of the people. But this so fortunate circumstance proved the cause of his destruction. Confident of the queen's partiality toward him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtiness, which neither her love, nor her dignity could bear; and, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, had exposed him to her resentment, he hoped, by means of his popularity, to make her submit to his imperious will. But the attachment of the people to his person was not strong enough to shake their allegiance to the throne. He saw his mistake, though too late; and his death was accompanied with many circumstances of the most humiliating penitence. But his remorse unhappily took a wrong direction. It made him ungenerously publish the name of every one to whom he had communicated his treasonable designs²⁰. He debased his character, in attempting to make his peace with Heaven; and, after all, it is much to be questioned, whatever he might imagine in those moments of affliction, whether in bewailing his crimes, he did not secretly mourn his disappointed ambition,

19. Birch. Bacon. Camden.

20. Winwood, ubi sup.

and in naming his accomplices hope to appease his sovereign. But however that might be, it is sincerely to be lamented, that a person possessed of so many noble virtues, should have involved, not only himself, but many of his friends in ruin.

The king of Scotland, who had a great regard for Essex, though he rejected his violent counsels, no sooner heard of his criminal and unsuccessful enterprise, than he sent two ambassadors to the court of England, in order to intercede for his life, as well as to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and conspiracy. But these envoys arrived too late to execute the first part of their instructions, and therefore prudently concealed it. Elizabeth received them with all possible marks of respect; and, during their residence in England, they found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish to the Scottish succession. They even entered into a private correspondence with secretary Cecil, son of the late lord treasurer Burleigh, whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was uncontrouled²¹. That profound courtier thought it prudent to acquire, by this policy, the confidence of a prince, who might soon become his master: and James, having gained the man whose opposition he had hitherto chiefly feared, waited in perfect security till time should bring about that event which would open his way to the English throne²².

While these things were transacting in Britain, lord Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex in Ireland, had restored the queen's authority in that kingdom. He defeated the rebels near Kinsale, though supported by six thousand Spaniards, whom he expelled the island; and many of the chieftains, after skulking for some time in the woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to prescribe. Even Tyrone petitioned for terms; which being denied

A. D. 1602.

A. D. 1603.

21. Osborne.

22. Spotswood.

him, he was obliged to throw himself on the queen's clemency ²³.

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any pleasure from this unfortunate conclusion of the war, which had long occupied her councils, exhausted her treasury, and disturbed her domestic peace. Though in her seventieth year, she had hitherto enjoyed a good state of health; but the infirmities of old age at length began to steal upon her, and with them that depression of spirit by which they are naturally accompanied. She had no offspring to inherit her extensive dominions: no son, no daughter, to whom she could transmit her sceptre, and the glories of her illustrious reign; no object of affection to alleviate her sorrows, or on whom she could repose her increasing cares. There lay the source of her most dangerous disease. A deep melancholy, which nothing could dissipate, and which rendered her dead to every human satisfaction, had settled on her mind.

Essex, as I have already observed, had been consigned to the executioner solely on a suspicion that the obstinacy and haughtiness of his spirit, still disdaining submission, would not permit him to implore the queen's clemency. His criminal designs would have been forgiven, as the extravagancies of a great soul, but his want of confidence in the affection of an indulgent mistress, or his sullen contempt of her mercy, were unpardonable. His enemies knew it: they took advantage of it, to hasten his destruction; and his friends were afraid to interpose, lest they should be represented as the abettors of his treason. But no sooner was the fatal blow struck, than fear and envy being laid asleep, his merits were universally confessed. Even his sentiments of duty and loyalty were extolled. Elizabeth became sensible she had been deceived, and lamented her rashness, in sacrificing a man on whose life her happiness depended. His

memory became daily more dear to her, and she seldom mentioned his name without tears²⁴. Other circumstances conspired to heighten her regret. Her courtiers having no longer the superior favour of Essex to dread, grew less respectful and assiduous in their attendance, and all men desirous of preferment seemed to look forward to her successor. The people caught the temper of the court, the queen went abroad without the usual acclamations. And as a farther cause of uneasiness, she had been prevailed on, contrary to her most solemn declarations and resolutions, to pardon Tyrone, whose rebellion had created her so much trouble, and whom she regarded as the remote cause of all her favourite's misfortunes. An unexpected discovery completed her sorrow, and rendered her melancholy mortal.

While Essex was in high favour with Elizabeth, she had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection; and accompanied it with a promise, that into whatever disgrace he might fall, or whatever prejudices she might be induced, by his enemies, to entertain against him, on producing that ring, he might depend on her for forgiveness. This precious gift he had reserved for the final extremity. All his misfortunes had not been able to draw it from him; but after his condemnation, he resolved to try its efficacy, and committed it to the countess of Nottingham, in order to be delivered to the queen. The countess communicated the matter to her husband, one of Essex's most implacable enemies, who persuaded her to act an atrocious part; neither to deliver the ring to the queen nor return it to the earl. Elizabeth who had anxiously expected that last appeal to her tenderness, imputed an omission, occasioned by the countess's treachery, to the disdainful pride of her favourite; and she was chiefly induced, by the resentment arising from that idea, to sign the warrant for his execution²⁵.

24. Birch's *Memoirs*, vol. ii.25. Birch's *Memoirs and Negotiations*.

Conscience discovered what it could not prevent. The countess of Nottingham falling ill, and finding her end fast approaching, was seized with remorse on account of her perfidy. She desired to see the queen, in order to reveal to her a secret, without disclosing which, she could not die in peace. When the queen entered her apartment, she presented the fatal ring; related the purpose for which she had received it, and begged forgiveness. All Elizabeth's affection returned, and all her rage was roused. "God may forgive you," cried she, "but I never can!" shaking the dying countess in her bed, and rushing out of the room²⁶.

Few and miserable, after this discovery, were the days of Elizabeth. Her spirit left her, and existence itself seemed a burden. She rejected all consolation: she would scarcely taste food, and refused every kind of medicine, declaring that she wished to die, and would live no longer. She could not even be prevailed on to go to bed; but threw herself on the carpet, where she remained, pensive and silent, during ten days and nights, leaning on cushions, and holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open, and fixed upon the ground. Her sighs, her groans, were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to utter, and which preyed upon her life. At last, her death being visibly approaching, the privy council sent to know her will, in regard to her successor. She answered with a feeble voice, that as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor; and on Cecil's desiring her to explain herself, she said, "who should that be but my nearest kinsman the king of Scots?" She expired soon after, without a struggle, her body being totally wasted by anguish and abstinence²⁷.

History

26. Id. ibid.

27. Camden. Birch. Strype. In this account of the death of Elizabeth, I have differed, in some particulars, from the crowd of historians. But, in conformity with general testimony, I have mentioned her nomination of the king of Scotland as her successor; yet a respectable eye and ear witness tells

History does not afford a more striking lesson on the unsubstantial nature of human greatness than in the close of this celebrated reign. Few sovereigns ever swayed a sceptre with more dignity than Elizabeth: few have enjoyed more uniform prosperity, and none could be more beloved by their people; yet this great princess, after all her glory and popularity, lived to fall into neglect, and sunk to the grave beneath the pressure of a private grief, accompanied by circumstances of distress, which the wretch on the torture might pity, and which the slave who expires at the oar does not feel. But the reign of Elizabeth yields other lessons. It shews to what a degree of wealth and consequence a nation may be raised in a few years, by a wise and vigorous administration: and what powerful efforts may be made by a brave and united people, in repelling or annoying an enemy, how superior soever in force.

The character of Elizabeth herself has been too often drawn to admit of any new feature, and is best delineated in her conduct. To all the personal jealousy, the coquetry, and little vanities of a woman, she united the sound understanding and firm spirit of a man. A greater share of feminine softness might have made her more agreeable as a wife or a mistress, though not a better queen; but a less insidious policy would have reflected more lustre on her administration, and a less rigid frugality, on some occasions, would have given more success to her arms. But as she was, and as she acted, she must be allowed to have been one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled a throne, and may perhaps be considered as the most illustrious female that ever did honour to humanity.

us, That she was *speechless* before the question relative to the succession was proposed by the privy council. He candidly adds, however, "that by putting her hand to her head, when the king of Scots was named to succeed her; *they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her.*" (*Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey Earl of Monmouth*, written by himself, p. 141.) The late John earl of Corke, editor of Carey's Memoirs, gives a less liberal interpretation of this sign: he supposes it might be the effect of pain. *Pref.* p. x.

L E T T E R LXXIII.

FRANCE, *from the Peace of Vervins, in 1598, to the Death of HENRY IV. in 1610, with some Account of the Affairs of GERMANY, under RODOLPH II.*

NO kingdom, exempt from the horrors of war, could be more wretched than France, at the peace of Vervins. The crown was loaded with debts and pensions; the country barren and desolated; the people poor and miserable; and the nobility, from a long habit of rebellion, rapine, and disorder, had lost all sense of justice, allegiance, or legal submission. They had been accustomed to set at naught the authority of the prince, to invade the royal prerogative, and to sport with the lives and property of the people.

Happily France was favoured with a king, equally able and willing to remedy all these evils. Henry IV. to a sincere regard for the welfare of his subjects, added a sound head and a bold heart. His superiority in arms, to which he had been habituated from his most early years, gave him great sway with all men of the military profession; and his magnanimity, gallantry, and gaiety, recommended him to the nobility in general; while his known vigour and promptitude, together with the love of his people, emboldened the more factious spirits, or enabled him to crush them before their designs were ripe for execution.

But to form a regular plan of administration, and to pursue it with success, amid so many dangers and difficulties, required more than the wisdom of one head, and the firmness of one heart. Henry stood in need of an able and upright minister, on whom he might devolve the more ordinary cares of government, and with whom he might consult on the most important matters of state. Such an assistant he found in his servant, the marquis de Rosni, whom he created duke

duke of Sully, in order to give more weight to his measures.

Sully seemed formed to be the minister of Henry IV. Equally brave in the field, and penetrating in the cabinet, he possessed more coolness and perseverance than that great prince, whose volatility and quickness of thought did not permit him to attend long to any one object¹. Attached to his master's person by friendship, and to his interest and the public good by principle, he employed himself with the most indefatigable industry, to restore the dignity of the crown, without giving umbrage to the nobility, or trespassing on the rights of the people. His first care was the finances; and it is inconceivable in how little time he drew the most exact order out of that chaos, in which they had been involved by his predecessors. He made the king perfectly master of his own affairs; digesting the whole system of the finances into tables, by the help of which Henry could see, almost at a single glance, all the different branches of his revenue and expenditure. He levied taxes in the shortest and most frugal manner possible; for he held, that every man so employed was a citizen lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He diminished all the expences of government; but, at the same time, paid every one punctually, and took care that the king should always have such reserve, as not to be obliged, on any emergency, either to lay new impositions on his people, or to make use of credit². By these prudent measures, he paid in the space of five years all the debts of the crown; augmented the revenue four million of livres, and had four millions in the treasury, though he had considerably reduced the taxes³.

Sully's attention, however, was not confined merely to the finances. He had the most sound notions of policy and legislation; and he endeavoured to convert them into practice. "If I had a principle to establish," says he, "it

1. Mezeray.

2. Thuanus.

3. *Mém. de Sully*, tom. iv.

“ would be this ; *that good morals and good laws are reciprocally formed by each other.*” No observation can be more just, or of more importance to society : for if the government neglect the manners, a relaxation of manners will lead to a neglect of laws ; and the evil will go on always increasing, until the community arrive at the highest degree of corruption, when it must reform or go to ruin. “ Hence,” adds Sully, “ in the affairs of men, the excess of evil is always the source of good ⁴.” In consequence of this mode of thinking, he co-operated warmly with the king’s wishes, in restoring order and justice throughout all parts of his dominions, and in getting such laws enacted as were farther necessary for that purpose.

But Sully’s maxims, though in general excellent, were better suited in some respects to a poor and small republic than to a great and wealthy monarchy. Sensible that a fertile country, well cultivated, is the principal source of the happiness of a people, and the most solid foundation of national prosperity, he gave great encouragement to agriculture. But the austerity of his principles made him an enemy to all manufactures connected with luxury, although it is evident that a prosperous people will possess themselves of such manufactures ; and that, if they cannot fabricate them, they must be purchased from foreigners with the precious metals, or with the common produce of the soil, which might otherwise be employed in the maintenance of useful artizans.

Henry himself, whose ideas were more liberal, though generally less accurate than those of his minister, had juster notions of this matter. He accordingly introduced the culture and the manufacture of silk, contrary to the opinion of Sully : and the success was answerable to his expectations. Before his death, he had the satisfaction to see that manufacture not only supply the

• A. D. 1602.

4. Id. Ibid.

home consumption, but bring more money into the kingdom than any of the former staple commodities^s.

Henry also established, at great expence, manufactures of linen and tapestry. The workmen for the first he drew from the United Provinces; for the last, from the Spanish Netherlands. He gave high wages and good settlements to all^o. Hence his success. He was sensible, that industrious people would not leave their native country without the temptation of large profit; and that after they had left it, and become rich, they would be inclined to return, in order to enjoy the company of their friends and fellow-citizens, unless fixed by such advantages as should over-balance that desire. In order to facilitate commerce, and promote the conveniency of his subjects, he built the Pont-Neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine and Loire; and he had projected the junction of the two seas, when a period was put to his life, and with that to all his other great designs. A. D. 1607.

In the prosecution of these wise and salutary measures, which raised France from the desolation and misery, in which she was involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever enjoyed, Henry met with a variety of obstructions, proceeding from a variety of causes. A heart too susceptible of tender impressions was continually engaging him in new amours, destructive at once of his domestic peace and of the public tranquillity; and, what is truly extraordinary in a man of gallantry, the last attachment appeared always to be the strongest. His sensibility, instead of being blunted, seemed only to become keener by the change of objects. Scarce had death relieved him from the importunities of Gabriel d'Estrees, whom he had created dukes of Beaufort, and who possessed such an absolute as-

5. Sir G. Carew's *Relation of the State of France under Henry IV.*

6. P. Matthieu.

endant over him, that he seemed resolved to marry her contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors—no sooner was he extricated from this embarrassment than he gave a promise of marriage to Henrietta d'Entragues, though not yet divorced from Margaret of Valois, his first queen, whose licentious amours had disgusted him, though perhaps as excusable as his own. That artful wanton had drawn this promise from him, before she would crown his wishes. He shewed the obligation to Sully, when ready to be delivered; and that faithful servant, transported with zeal for his master's honour, tore it in pieces. "I believe you are turned a fool!" said Henry. "I know it," replied Sully; "and wish I were the only fool in France".

Sully now thought himself out of favour for ever; and remained in that opinion, when the king surprised him, by adding to his former employments that of master of the ordinance. The sentence of divorce, which Henry had long been soliciting at Rome, was procured in 1599; and he married, in order to please his subjects, Mary of Medicis, niece to the great-duke of Tuscany. But this step did not put an end to his gallantries, which continued to embroil him perpetually either with the queen or his mistress, created marchioness of Verneuil. And Sully, whose good offices were always required on such occasions, often found the utmost difficulty in accommodating these amorous quarrels, which greatly agitated the mind of Henry⁷.

But Henry's most alarming troubles proceeded from the intrigues of the court of Spain. By these the duke of Savoy was encouraged to maintain war against him; and, after that prince was humbled, the duke of Biron was drawn into a

7. *Mém. de Sully*, tom. ii.

8. *Ibid.* tom. iv. lib. xiv. It was a satirical survey of this weak side of Henry's character which induced the sage Bayle to say, That he would have equalled the greatest heroes of antiquity, if he had been early deprived of his virility.

conspiracy,

conspiracy, which cost him his head. Other conspiracies were formed through the same instigation: the queen herself was induced to hold a secret correspondence with Spain, and a Spanish faction began to appear in the king's councils⁹. A D. 1608.

Those continued attempts to disturb the peace of his kingdom, and sap the foundation of his throne, made Henry resolve to carry into execution a design, which he had long meditated, of humbling the house of Austria, and circumscribing its power in Italy and Germany. While he was maturing that great project, a dispute concerning the succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers afforded him a pretext for taking arms: and this circumstance naturally leads us to cast an eye on the state of the empire.

We have already brought down the affairs of Germany to the death of Maximilian II. His son, Rodolph II. who inherited, as has been observed¹⁰, the pacific disposition of his father, succeeded him on the imperial throne in 1576; and, although more occupied about the heavens than the earth (being devoted both to astronomy and astrology, which he studied under the famous Tycho Brahe), the empire during his long reign enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity. The equity of his administration compensated for its weakness. The chief disturbances which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias, whom we have seen governor of the United Provinces. The Turks, as usual, had invaded Hungary; Matthias had been successful in opposing their progress; and a peace had been concluded, in 1606, with sultan Achmet, successor of Mahomet III. The Hungarians thus relieved, became jealous of their religious rights, conferred their crown upon Matthias, their deliverer, who granted them full liberty of conscience, with every other privilege which they could desire¹¹. Matthias afterward be-

9. Dupleix. Mezeray.

10. Letter LXVIII.

11. Heiss, *Hist. de l'Emp.* liv. iii. chap. vii.

came master of Austria and Moravia, on the same conditions: and the emperor Rodolph, in order to avoid the horrors of civil war, confirmed to him these usurpations, together with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root ¹².

In proportion as the reformed religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the protestant princes of the empire became desirous of securing and extending their privileges; and their demands being refused, they entered
A. D. 1609. into a new confederacy called the Evangelical Union. This association was opposed by another, formed to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League. The succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, roused to arms the heads of the two parties, who may be said to have slumbered since the peace of Passau.

John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, having died without issue, several competitors arose for the succession, and the most powerful prepared to support their title by the sword. In order to prevent the evils which must have been occasioned by such violent contests, as well as to support his own authority, the emperor cited all the claimants to appear before him, within a certain term, to explain the nature of their several pretensions. Meanwhille he sequestered the fiefs in dispute, and sent his cousin Leopold, in quality of governor, to take possession of them, and to rule them in his name, till the right of inheritance should be settled. Alarmed at this step, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuberg, two of the competitors, united against the emperor, whom they suspected of interested views. They were supported by the elector Palatine, and the other princes of the Evangelical Union, as the emperor was by the elector of Saxony, one of the claimants, and the princes of the Catholic League; and in or-

12. *Id. ibid.* Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. ix.

der to be a match for their enemies, who were in alliance with the pope and the king of Spain, they applied to the king of France ¹³.

Henry, as has as been observed, wanted only a decent apology for breaking openly with the house of Austria. That apology was now furnished him. The protestant envoys found him well disposed to assist them: and a domestic event contributed to confirm his resolution. The king was enamoured of the princess of Conde ¹⁴. Her husband, in a fit of jealousy, carried her to Brussels. The archduke Albert afforded them protection, notwithstanding a message from the French court, demanding their return. This new injury, which Henry keenly felt, added to so many others, inflamed his rage against the house of Austria to the highest pitch; and he began instantly to put in motion all the wheels of that vast machine, which he had been constructing for many years, in order to erect a balance of power in Europe.

Historians are as much divided in regard to the nature of Henry's *Grand Design* (for so it is commonly called), as they are agreed about its object. The plan of a christian commonwealth, as exhibited in Sully's Memoirs, by dividing Europe into fifteen associated states, seems a theory

13. Heiss et Barre, ubi sup.

14. Henry's passion for that lady, of the family of Montmorency, commenced before her marriage; and he seems only to have connected her with the prince of Condé, in order more securely to gratify his desires. "When I first perceived," says Sully, "this growing inclination in Henry, I used my utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of it, as I foresaw much greater inconveniences from it than from any of his former attachments. And although these endeavours proved ineffectual, I renewed them again, when the king proposed to me his design of marrying Mademoiselle Montmorency to the prince of Condé; for I had no reason to expect Henry would exert, in such circumstances, that generous self-denial which some lovers have shewn themselves capable of, when they have taken this method, to impose upon themselves the necessity of renouncing the object of a tender affection." *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xxvi.

too romantic even for the visionary brain of a speculative politician. Yet it is not impossible but Henry might, at times, amuse his imagination with such a splendid idea: the soundest minds have their reveries, but he never could seriously think of carrying it into execution. Perhaps he made use of it only as a gay covering to his real purpose of pulling down the house of Austria; and of making himself, by that means, the arbiter of Christendom.

But whatever may have been the scheme on which Henry valued himself so much, and from which he expected such extraordinary consequences, his avowed resolution now was, to give law to the German branch of the Austrian family, by supporting the Evangelical Union. His preparations were vigorous, and his negotiations successful. The duke of Savoy, his old enemy, and the most politic prince in Europe, readily entered into his views. The Italian powers in general approved of his design, and the Swiss and the Venetians took part in the alliance. He himself assembled an army of forty thousand men, chiefly old troops; and a more excellent train of artillery was prepared than had ever been brought into the field. Sully assured him there were forty millions of livres in the treasury; "and," added he, "if you do not encrease your army beyond forty thousand, I will supply you with money sufficient for the support of the war, without laying any new tax upon your people¹⁵."

The king of France proposed to command his army in person, and was impatient to put himself at its head; but the queen, appointed regent during his absence, insisted on being solemnly crowned before his departure. Henry, if we may believe the duke of Sully, was more disquieted at the thoughts of this ceremony than by any thing that had ever happened to him in his life. He was not only displeased with the delay which it occasioned, but, it is said, to have

¹⁵ *Mem. de Sully*, liv. xxvii.

been conscious of an inward dread; arising, no doubt, from the many barbarous attempts which had been made upon his person, the rumours of new conspiracies, and the opportunity which a crowd afforded of putting them in execution. He agreed, however, to the coronation, A. D. 1610. notwithstanding these apprehensions, and even to be present at it. On that occasion he escaped: but next day, his coach being obstructed in a narrow street, Ravallac, a blood-thirsty bigot, who had long sought such an opportunity, mounted the wheel of his carriage, and stabbed him to the heart with a knife, over the duke d'Espernon's shoulder, and amidst six more of his courtiers. The assassin, like some others of that age, thought he had done an acceptable service to God in committing murder; especially as the king was going to assist the Protestants, and consequently was still a heretic in his heart. He accordingly did not offer to make his escape, and seemed much surprised at the detestation in which his crime was held ¹⁶. He persisted to the last, that it was entirely his own act, and that he had no accomplice.

Thus perished Henry IV. one of the ablest and best princes that ever sat upon the throne of France. A more melancholy reflection cannot enter the human mind than is suggested by his untimely fall; that a wretch unworthy of existence, and incapable of one meritorious action, should be able to obstruct the most illustrious enterprises, and to terminate a life necessary to the welfare of millions!—Henry's chief weakness was his inordinate passion for women, which led him into many irregularities. But even that was rather a blemish in his private, than in his public character. Though no man was more a lover, he was always a king. He never suffered his mistresses to direct his councils, or to influence him in the choice of his servants. But his libertine example had unavoidably a pernicious effect upon the manners of the nation. It produced a licentious gallantry that infected

¹⁶ Id. *ibid.* Preface. Matthieu. L'Etoile.

all orders of men, and which his heroic qualities only could have counteracted, or prevented from degenerating into the most enervating sensuality¹⁷. It was productive, however, of consequences abundantly fatal. Four thousand French gentlemen are said to have been killed in single combats, chiefly arising from amorous quarrels, during the first eighteen years of Henry's reign¹⁸. "Having been long habituated to the sight of blood, and prodigal of his own," says Sully, "he could never be prevailed upon strictly to enforce the laws against duelling¹⁹."

17. *Mém. de Sully. liv. xxv. Gallanteries des Rois de France.*

18. *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de France.*

19. *Mém. liv. xxii.*

L E T T E R LXXIV.

A general View of the Continent of EUROPE, from the Assassination of HENRY IV. to the Treaty of PRAGUE, in 1635.

THE greater part of the European continent, during the period that followed the death of Henry IV. was a scene of anarchy, rebellion, and bloodshed. Germany continued for many years involved in those disputes, which he was preparing to settle. Religious controversies, which generally mingle themselves with civil affairs, distracted the United Provinces, and robbed them of the sweets of that liberty, which they had so gallantly earned by their valour and perseverance. And France, under the minority of Lewis XIII. and the weak regency of his mother, Mary of Medicis, returned to that state of disorder and wretchedness, out of which it had been raised by the mild and equitable, but vigorous government of Henry the Great.

The transactions of this turbulent period, to the peace of Westphalia, when the harmony of the empire was established, and tranquillity, in some measure, restored to Europe, I propose

propose to comprehend in two extensive sketches; and, in order to prevent confusion, as well as to preserve the general effect, I shall be sparing in particulars. The consideration of the affairs of England, from the accession of the house of Stuart to the subversion of the monarchy, with the grand struggle between the king and parliament, and the narration of the complicated transactions on the continent during the reign of Lewis XIV. whose ambition gave birth to a series of wars, intrigues, and negociations, unequalled in the history of mankind, I shall defer till some future occasion, when you may be supposed to have digested the materials already before you; observing, in the mean time, that soon after the peace of Westphalia, which may be considered as the foundation of all subsequent treaties, society almost every where assumed its present form. I must begin with a view of the troubles of Germany.

The two great confederacies, distinguished by the names of the Catholic League and Evangelical Union, which had threatened the empire with a furious civil war, appeared to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. But the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg, still maintained their claim to the succession of Cleves and Juliers; and being assisted by Maurice, prince of Orange, and some French troops, under the marshal de la Chatre, they expelled Leopold, the sequestrator, and took possession by force of arms. They afterwards, however, disagreed between themselves, but were again reconciled from a sense of mutual interest. In this petty quarrel Spain and the United Provinces interested themselves, and the two greatest generals in Europe were once more opposed to each other; Spinola on the part of the duke of Neuburg, who had renounced Lutheranism in order to procure the protection of the Catholic king, and Maurice on the side of the elector of Brandenburg, who introduced Calvinism into his dominions, more strongly to attach the Dutch to his cause¹.

¹ *Mercur. Gallo Belg.* tom. x. lib. iii.

Meantime Rodolph II. died, and was succeeded by his brother Matthias. The protestants, to whom the archduke had been very indulgent, in order to accomplish his ambitious views, no sooner saw him seated on the imperial throne, than they pried him with memorials, requiring an extension of their privileges, while the Catholics petitioned for new restrictions; and to complete his confusion, the Turks entered Transilvania. But the event of the Ottoman dominions, which had so long given alarm to Christendom, on this, as well as on former occasions, proved its safety. The young and ambitious Achmet, who hoped to signalize the beginning of his reign by the conquest of Hungary, was obliged to recall his forces from that quarter, to protect the eastern frontier of his empire; and Matthias obtained, without striking a blow, a peace as advantageous as he could have expected, after the most successful war. He stipulated for the restitution of Agria, Pest, Buda, and every other place held by the Turks in Hungary².

Matthias was now resolved to pull off the mask, which he had so long worn on purpose to deceive the Protestants, and to convince them that he was their master. Meanwhile, finding himself advancing in years, and declining in health, he procured, in order to strengthen his authority, his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz, duke of Stiria, whom he intended as his successor in the empire, to be elected king of Bohemia, and acknowledged in Hungary; neither himself nor his brothers having any children: and he engaged the Spanish branch of the house of Austria to renounce all pretensions which it could possibly have to those crowns³.

This family compact alarmed the Evangelical Union, and occasioned a revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. The malecontents in Hungary were soon appeased; but the Bohemian protestants, whose pri-

2. Heils, liv. iii. chap. viii.

3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

vileges had been invaded, obstinately continued in arms, and were joined by those of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper Austria. The confederates were headed by count de la Tour, a man of abilities, and supported by an army of German protestants, under the famous count Mansfeldt, natural son of the Flemish general of that name, who was for a time governor of the Spanish Netherlands.—Thus was kindled a furious civil war, which desolated Germany during thirty years, interested all the powers of Europe, and was not finally extinguished until the peace of Westphalia.

Amid these disorders died the emperor Matthias, without being able to foresee the event of the struggle, or who should be his successor. The imperial dignity, however, went according to his destination. Ferdinand de Gratz was raised to the vacant throne, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector Palatine and the states of Bohemia; and with a less tyrannical disposition, he would have been worthy that high station.

The election of Ferdinand II. instead of intimidating the Bohemians, roused them to more vigorous measures. They formally deposed him, and chose Frederic V. elector Palatine, for their king. Frederic, seduced by his flatterers, unwisely accepted of the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of James I. of England, his father-in-law, who used all his influence in persuading him to reject it, and protested that he would give him no assistance in such a rash undertaking.

This measure confirmed the quarrel between Ferdinand and the Bohemians. Frederic was seconded by all the Protestant princes, except the elector of Saxony, who still adhered to the emperor, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of Cleves and Juliers. Bethlem Gabor, vaivode of Transilvania, also declared in favour of the Palatine; entered Hungary, made himself master of many places, and was proclaimed king by the Protestants of that country.

Frederic was farther supported by two thousand four hundred English volunteers, whom James permitted to embark in a cause of which he disapproved; and by a body of eight thousand men, under prince Henry of Nassau, from the United Provinces. But Ferdinand, assisted by the Catholic princes of the empire, by the king of Spain, and the archduke Albert, was more than a match for his enemies. Spinola led twenty-five thousand veterans from the Low Countries, and plundered the Palatinate, in defiance of the English and Dutch; while Frederic himself, unable to protect his new kingdom of Bohemia, was totally routed, near Prague, by the imperial general Buquoy, and his own Catholic kinsman, the duke of Bavaria ⁵.

The Palatine and his adherents were now put to the ban of the empire; and the Bohemian rebels being reduced, an army was dispatched under Buquoy into Hungary against Bethlen Gabor, who consented to resign his title to that crown, on obtaining conditions otherwise advantageous. In the mean time the conquest of the Palatinate was finished by the Imperialists under count Tilly. Frederic was degraded from his electoral dignity, which was conferred on the duke of Bavaria; and his dominions were bestowed by Ferdinand, "in the fullness of his power," upon those who had helped to subdue them ⁶.

While the house of Austria was thus extending its authority in Germany, a project, no less ambitious than bloody, was concerted for rendering the Spanish branch of that family absolute in Italy. The duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Villa Franca, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedomar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, conspired to subject the Venetians, and with them the rest of the Italian states, under the dominion of their master. For this purpose they had formed a horrid plot, which would

5. Heiss, liv. iii. chap. ix.

6. Barre, tom. ix.

infallibly have put them in possession of Venice. That city was to have been set on fire in different parts, by a band of russians already lodged within its walls; while a body of troops, sent from Milan, should attack it on one side, and some armed vessels from Naples on the other. But this atrocious design was discovered by the vigilance of the senate in 1618, when it was almost ripe for execution. The greater part of the conspirators were privately drowned; and Bedomar, who had violated the law of nations, being secretly conducted out of the city, was glad to make his escape ⁷.

Another project was formed in 1620, for extending the Spanish dominions in Italy, by the duke of Feria, who had succeeded the marquis de Villa Franca in the government of Milan. He encouraged the popish inhabitants of the Valteline to revolt from the Grisons: and the king of Spain, as protector of the Catholic faith, supported them in their rebellion. The situation of the Valteline rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correspondence between the two branches of the house of Austria, shut the Swiss out of Italy, kept the Venetians in awe, and was a bridle on all the Italian states ⁸.

In the midst of these ambitious schemes (to which of himself he was little inclined) died Philip III. Philip IV. his son and successor, was a prince of a more enterprising disposition; and the abilities of Olivares, the new minister, were infinitely superior to those of the duke of Lerma, who had directed the measures of government during the greater part of the former reign. The ambition of Olivares was yet more lofty than his capacity. He made his master assume the surname of Great, as soon as he ascended the throne, and thought himself bound to justify the appellation. He hoped to raise the house of Austria to that absolute dominion in Europe, for which it had been so long struggling. In prosecution of this bold plan, he resolved to maintain the

⁷. Abbé St. Real Batt. Nani, *Hist. della Repubblica Veneta*.

⁸. Batt. Nani, ubi sup.

closest alliance with the emperor; to make him despotic in Germany; to keep possession of the Valteline; to humble the Italian powers, and reduce the United Provinces to subjection, the truce being now expired?

Nor was this project so chimerical as it may at first sight appear. The emperor had already crushed the force of the protestant league; France was distracted by civil wars, and England was amused by a marriage treaty, between the prince of Wales and the infanta, which, more than every other consideration, actually prevented James from taking any material step in favour of the Palatine, till he was stript of his dominions. But France, notwithstanding her intestine commotions, was not lost to all sense of danger from abroad; and the match with the infanta being broken off, by a quarrel between Buckingham, the English minister, and

Olivares, the Spanish minister, an alliance was entered into between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for restraining the ambition of the house of Austria; and recovering the Palatine¹⁰.—The affairs of Holland now demand our attention.

After the truce in 1609, the United Provinces, as I have already noticed, became a prey to religious dissensions. Gomar and Arminius, two professors at Leyden, differed on some abstract points in theology, and their opinions divided the republic. Gomar maintained, in all their austerity, the doctrines of Calvin in regard to grace and predestination; Arminius endeavoured to soften them. The Gomarists, who composed the body of the people, ever carried toward enthusiasm, were headed by prince Maurice; the Arminians, by the pensionary Barneveldt, a firm patriot, who had been chiefly instrumental in negotiating the late truce, in opposition to the house of Orange. The Arminian principles were defended by Grotius, Vossius, and the learned in general. But prince Maurice and the Gomarists at last prevailed. The Arminian preachers were banished, and Barneveldt was brought to the

9. *Anecdotes du Conde Duc d'Olivares.*

10. Rushworth. Clarendon.

block in 1619, for “vexing the church of God!” as his sentence imported, at the age of seventy, and after he had served the republic forty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice had in the field. He was a man of eminent abilities and incorruptible integrity, and had espoused the cause of the Arminians chiefly from a persuasion, that Maurice meant to make use of his popularity with the Gomarists, and of their hatred of the other sect, in order to enslave that people whom he had so gloriously protected from the tyranny of Spain ¹¹.

This opinion appears to have been well founded: for Maurice, during those religious commotions, frequently violated the rights of the republic; and so vigorous an opposition only could have prevented him from overturning its liberties. The ardour of ambition at once withered his well-earned laurels and disappointed itself. The death of Barneveldt opened the eyes of the people. They saw their danger, and the iniquity of the sentence, notwithstanding their religious prejudices. Maurice was detested as a tyrant, at the very time that he hoped to be received as a sovereign. The deliverer of his country, when he went abroad, was saluted with groans and murmurs; and, as he passed, the name of Barneveldt sounded in his ears from every street ¹².

But amid all their civil and religious dissensions, the Dutch were extending their commerce and their conquests in both extremities of the globe. The city of Batavia was founded, and the plan of an empire laid in the East Indies, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the United Provinces. They had already cast their eyes on Brasil, which they conquered soon after the expiration of the truce, and they carried on a lucrative trade with the European settlements in the West Indies. The prospect of hostilities with their ancient masters composed their domestic animosities. They laid aside their jealousy of Maurice, as he seem-

11. Grotius. Le Clerc.

12. Ibid.

ed to do his ambitious views. Every one was more zealous than another to oppose and to annoy the common enemy ; and Spinola was obliged, by his old antagonist, to relinquish the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, in 1622, after having lost ten thousand of his best troops in the enterprize ¹³.

In France, during this period, both civil and religious disputes were carried much higher than in Holland. Lewis XIII. being only nine years of age, in 1610, when his father Henry IV. was murdered, Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, was chosen regent. New councils were immediately adopted, and the sage maxims of Sully despised. He, therefore, resigned his employments and retired from court. The regent was entirely guided by her Italian favourites, Concini and his wife Galligai. By them, in concert with the pope and the duke of Florence, was negotiated, in 1612, an union between France and Spain, by means of a double marriage ; of Lewis XIII. with Anne of Austria, the eldest infanta ; and of Elizabeth the king's sister, with the prince of Asturias, afterwards Philip IV. The dissolution of the alliances formed under the late reign, and the ruin of the Protestants, were also among the projects of Mary's Italian ministers ¹⁴.

The nobility, dissatisfied with the measures of the court, and with the favour shewn to foreigners, entered into cabals ; they revolted in 1613 ; and the treasures collected by Henry IV. in order to humble the House of Austria, were employed by a weak administration, to appease those factious leaders. The prince of Condé, who had headed the former faction, revolted anew in 1615. He and his adherents were again gratified, at the expence of the public ; and fresh intrigues being suspected, he was sent to the Bastille ¹⁵.

The imprisonment of the prince of Condé alarmed many of the nobles, who retired from court, and prepared for their defence ; or, in other words, for hostilities. Mean-

13. Neuville, *Hist. de Hollande*.

14. Dupleix. Mezeray

15. *Ibid.*

time Concini, who still maintained his influence, received a blow from a quarter whence he little expected it. Albert Luines, who had originally recommended himself to the young king's favour by rearing and training birds for his amusement, found means to make him jealous of his authority. He dwelt on the ambition of the queen-mother, and the mal-administration of her foreign favourites, to whom the most important affairs of state were committed, and whose insolence, he affirmed, had occasioned all the dissatisfactions among the great ¹⁶.

Lewis, struck with the picture set before him, and desirous of seizing the reins of government, immediately ordered Concini to be arrested; and Vitri, captain of the guards, to whom that service was intrusted, executed it, in 1617, entirely to the wish of Luines. Concini was shot, under pretence of resistance. The sentence of treason was passed on his memory; and Galligai, his widow, being accused of forcery and magic, was condemned by the parliament to suffer death, for treason *divine* and *human*. When asked what spell she had made use of to fascinate the queen-mother, she magnanimously replied, "that ascendant which a superior mind has over a feeble spirit!" The regent's guards were instantly removed, and the king's placed in their stead. She was confined for a time to her apartment, and afterward exiled to Blois ¹⁷.

That indignation which Concini and his wife had excited, was suddenly transferred to Luines, enriched by their immense spoils, and who engrossed in a still higher degree the royal favour. His avarice and ambition knew no bounds. From a page and gentleman of the bed-chamber, he became, in rapid succession, a marshal, duke, and peer of France; constable, and keeper of the seals. Meanwhile a conspiracy was formed for the release of the queen-mother, and carried

16. *Mém. des Affaires des Français, depuis 1610, jusqu'en 1620.* Mezeray, *Hist. du Père et du Fils.*

17. *Id. ibid.*

into execution by the duke d'Espèrnon, whose power had first exalted her to the regency. The court, for a time, talked loudly of violent measures : but it was judged proper, in 1619, to conclude a treaty advantageous to the malcontents, and avoid proceeding to extremities. This lenity encouraged the queen-mother to enter into fresh cabals ; and a new treaty was agreed to by the court, no less indulgent than the former ¹⁸.

These cabals in opposition to the court were chiefly conducted by Richelieu, bishop of Luçon. He had risen to notice through the influence of Galligai : he had been disgraced with Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, and with her he returned into favour, as well as consequence. At her solicitation, he obtained a cardinal's hat, a seat in the council, and soon after a share in the administration ¹⁹. But hypocrisy was necessary to conceal, for a season, from envy and jealousy, those transcendent abilities which were one day to astonish Europe.

In the meantime a new civil war was kindled, more violent than any of the former. Lewis XIII. having united by a solemn edict, the principality of Bearn, the hereditary estate of the family, to the crown of France, in 1620, attempted to re-establish the Catholic religion in that province, where there were no Catholics ²⁰, and to restore to the clergy the church lands, contrary to the stipulations of Henry IV. The Hugonots, alarmed at the impending danger, assembled at Rochelle, in contempt of the king's prohibition : and concluding, that their final destruction was resolved upon, they determined to throw off the royal authority, and establish a republic, after the example of the Protestants in the Low Countries, for the protection of their civil and religious liberties. Rochelle was to be the capital of the new commonwealth, which would have formed a separate state within the kingdom of France ²¹.

¹⁸. Mezeray, ubi sup. *Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon.*

Hist. du Card. Rich.

²⁰. Duplex. *Hist. Louis XIII.*

¹⁹. Aubert,

²¹. Id. *ibid.*

The constable Luines, equally ignorant and presumptuous, imagining he could subdue this formidable party, had immediately recourse to arms. Nor was intrigue neglected. After seducing by bribes and promises, several of the Protestant leaders, among whom was the duke of Bouillon, and reducing some inconsiderable places, the king and Luines laid siege to Montauban in 1621. The royal army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, animated by the presence of their sovereign; but the place was so gallantly defended by the marquis de la Force, that Lewis and his favourite, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to abandon the enterprize. Luines died soon after this shameful expedition; and the brave and ambitious Lesdiguiers, who had already deserted the Hugonots, on solemnly renouncing Calvinism, was honoured with the constable's sword²².

The loss which the Protestant cause sustained by the apostacy of Lesdiguières, and the defection of the duke of Bouillon, was made up by the zeal and abilities of the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubise; men not inferior (especially the duke) either in civil or military talents, to any of the age in which they lived. Soubise however was defeated by the king in person, who continued to carry on the war with vigour. But the duke still kept the field; and Lewis having laid siege to Montpellier, which defended itself as gallantly as Montauban, peace was concluded with the Hugonots, in 1622, to prevent a second massacre. They obtained a confirmation of the edict of Nantes; and the duke of Rohan, who negotiated the treaty, was gratified to the utmost of his wish²³.

The French councils now began to assume more vigour. Cardinal Richelieu no sooner got a share in the administration, which in a short time he entirely governed, than, turning his eyes on the state of Europe, he formed three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, to reduce the rebellious Hugonots, and to curb the en-

²² Hist. du Connétable de Luynes.

²³ Mem. du Duc de Rohan.

croaching power of the house of Austria. But in order to carry these great designs into execution, it was necessary to preserve peace with England. This Richelieu perceived, and accordingly negotiated, in spite of the courts of Rome and Madrid, a treaty of marriage between Charles prince of Wales, and Henrietta of France, sister of Lewis XIII. He also negotiated between the two crowns, in conjunction with the United Provinces, that alliance which I have already noticed, and which brought on hostilities with Spain.

In consequence of these negotiations, a body of six thousand men was levied in England, and sent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renowned a captain as Maurice. Count Mansfeldt was engaged in the English service; and an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under his command, was embarked at Dover, in order to join the League, formed in Low Saxony, for the restoration of the Palatine, and of which Christian IV. king of Denmark, was declared chief. About the same time a

French army, in concert with the Venetians and the duke of Savoy, recovered the Valteline, which had been sequestered to the pope, and restored it to the Grisons²⁴.

Meanwhile the house of Austria was neither inactive nor unfortunate in other quarters. Spinola reduced Bréda, one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands, in spite of all the efforts of prince Maurice, who died of chagrin before the place surrendered. The English had

A. D. 1626. failed in an attempt upon Cadiz: the embarkation under count Mansfeldt had proved abortive; and the king of Denmark was defeated by the Imperialists near Northen²⁵.

The miscarriages of the English cooled their ardour for

24. Aubert. Duplex. ubi sup.

25. Heiss. Le Clerc. Rushworth.
foreign

foreign enterprizes; and cardinal Richelieu found, for a time, business enough to occupy his genius at home. He had not only to quiet the Hugonots, who had again rebelled, and to whom he found it necessary to grant advantageous conditions, but he had a powerful faction at court to oppose. Not one prince of the blood was heartily his friend. Gaston duke of Orleans, the king's brother, was his declared enemy; the queen-mother herself was become jealous of him, and Lewis XIII. was more attached to him from fear than affection. But the bold and ambitious spirit of Richelieu triumphed over every obstacle: it discovered and dissipated all the conspiracies formed against him, and at length made him absolute master of the king and kingdom.

During these cabals in the French cabinet, the Hugonots shewed once more a disposition to render themselves independent: and in that spirit they were encouraged by the court of England, which voluntarily took up arms in their cause. The reason assigned by some historians for this step is very singular. A. D. 1627.

As Lewis XIII. was wholly governed by cardinal Richelieu, and Philip IV. by Olivarez, Charles I. was in like manner, governed by the duke of Buckingham, the handsomest and most pompous man of his time, but not the deepest politician. He was naturally amorous, bold, and presumptuous; and when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, he is said to have carried his addresses even to the queen of France. The return which he met with from Anne of Austria, whose complexion was as amorous as his own, encouraged him to project a new embassy to the court of Versailles; but cardinal Richelieu, reported to have been his rival in love as well as in politics, made Lewis send him a message that he must not think of such a journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion, swore he would "see the queen, in spite of all the power of France!"—and hence is supposed

to have originated the war in which he involved his master.

Rash and impetuous, however, as Buckingham was, he appears to have had better reasons for that measure. Cardinal Richelieu was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots: they had been deprived of many of their cautionary towns; and forts were erecting, in order to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark. If the protestant party should be utterly subdued, France would soon become formidable to England. This consideration was of itself sufficient to induce Buckingham to undertake the defence of the Hugonots.

But, independent of such political forecast, and of his amorous quarrel with Richelieu, the English minister had powerful motives for such a measure. That profound statesman had engaged the duke to send some ships to act against the Rochelle fleet, under promise that after the humiliation of the Hugonots, France should take an active part in the war between England and Spain. This ill-judged compliance roused the resentment of the English commons against Buckingham, and had been made one of the grounds of an impeachment. He then changed his plan; procured a peace for the Hugonots, and became security to them for its performance; but finding the cardinal would neither concur with him in carrying on the war against Spain, nor observe the treaty with the Hugonots, he had no other course left for recovering his credit with the parliament and people (especially after the miscarriage of the expedition against Cadiz) but to take arms against the court of France, in vindication of the rights of the French Protestants²⁷.

Buckingham's views, in undertaking this war, are less excusable than his conduct in carrying them into execution. He appeared before Rochelle with a fleet of an hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men; but so ill-concerted

27. Clarendon. Duplex.

were his measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates against him, and refused to admit allies of whose coming they were not previously informed²⁸. They were but a part of the Protestant body, they observed, and must consult their brethren before they could take such a step. This blunder was followed by another. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island, and defenceless, Buckingham made a descent on the isle of Rhé, which was well garrisoned and fortified. All his military operations shewed equal incapacity and inexperience. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which covered the landing place; he allowed Thorias, the governor, to amuse him with a deceitful negotiation, till St. Martin, the principal fort, was provided for a siege; he attacked it before he had made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of his soldiers; and he so negligently guarded the sea, that a French army stole over in small divisions, and obliged him to retreat to his ships. He was himself the last man that embarked; and having lost two thirds of his land forces, he returned to England, totally discredited both as an admiral and a general, bringing home with him no reputation but that of personal courage²⁹.

This ill-concerted and equally ill-conducted enterprize proved fatal to Rochelle, and to the power of the French Protestants. Cardinal Richelieu, under pretence of guarding the coast against the English, sent a body of troops into the neighbourhood, and ordered quarters to be marked out for twenty-five thousand men. The siege of Rochelle was regularly formed and conducted with vigour by the king, and even by the cardinal in person. Neither the duke of Rohan nor his brother Soubise were in the place; yet the citizens, animated by civil and religious zeal, and abundantly provided with military stores, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. Under the command of Guiton, their mayor, a man of experience and fortitude, they made an obstinate re-

28. Rushworth, vol. i.

29. Clarendon. Rushworth.

sistance, and baffled all attempts to reduce the city by force. But the bold genius of Richelieu, which led him to plan the greatest undertakings, also suggested means, equally great and extraordinary, for their execution. Finding it impossible to take Rochelle, while the communication remained open by sea, he attempted to shut the harbour by stakes, and by a boom. Both these methods, however, proving ineffectual; he recollected what Alexander had performed in the siege of Tyre, and projected and finished a mole of a mile's length, across a gulf, into which the sea rolled with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to all the works of man. The place being now blockaded on all sides, and every attempt for its relief failing, the inhabitants were obliged to surrender, after suffering all the miseries of war and famine, during a siege of almost twelve months. They were deprived of their extensive privileges, and their fortifications were destroyed; but they were allowed to retain possession of their goods, and permitted the free exercise of their religion³⁰.

Cardinal Richelieu did not stop in the middle of his career. He marched immediately toward the other provinces, where the Protestants possessed many cautionary towns, and were still formidable by their numbers. The duke of Rohan defended himself with vigour in Languedoc; but seeing no hopes of being able to continue the struggle, England, his only natural ally, having already concluded a peace with France and Spain, he at last had recourse to negotiation, and obtained very favourable conditions, both for himself and his party. The Protestants were left in possession of their estates, of the free exercise of their religion, and of all the privileges granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were deprived of their fortifications or cautionary towns, as dangerous to the peace of the state³¹.

From this era we may date the aggrandisement of the

30. *Mém. du Duc de Rohan.*

31. *Ibid.*

French monarchy, in latter times, as well as the absolute dominion of the prince. That authority which Lewis XI. had acquired over the great, and which was preserved by his immediate successors, had been lost during the religious wars; which raised up, in the Hugonots, a new power, that almost divided the strength of the kingdom, and at once exposed it to foreign enemies and domestic factions. But no sooner was this formidable body humbled, and every order of the state, and every sect, reduced to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign, than France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe, and her independent nobles to sink into the condition of servants of the court.

Richelieu's system, however, though so far advanced, was not yet complete. But the whole was still in contemplation: nor did he ever lose sight of one circumstance that could forward its progress. No sooner had he subdued the Protestants in France than he resolved to support them in Germany, that he might be enabled, by their means, more effectually to set bounds to the ambition of the house of Austria. And never was the power of that house more formidable, or more dangerous to the liberties of Europe.

Ferdinand II. whom we have seen triumphant over the Palatine and the Evangelical Union, continued to carry every thing before him in Germany. The king of Denmark, and the league in Lower Saxony, were unable to withstand his armies, under Tilly and Wallstein. After repeated defeats and losses, the Danish monarch was obliged to sue for peace; and the emperor found himself, at length, possessed of absolute authority³².

But, fortunately for mankind, Ferdinand's ambition undid itself, and saved Europe, as well as the empire, from that despotism with which both were threatened. Not satisfied with an uncontrolled sway over Germany, he attempted to revive the imperial jurisdiction in Italy. Vincent II. duke

32. Barre, tom. ix. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

of Mantua and Montferrat, having died without issue, Charles de Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, his kinsman, claimed the succession, in virtue of a matrimonial contract, as well as the vicinity of blood. But Cesar de Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla, had already received, from the emperor, the eventual investiture of those ancient fiefs. The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have supplanted the two former, and the king of Spain hoped to exclude all three, under pretence of supporting the latter. Ferdinand's desire of aggrandising the house of Austria was well known, as well as his scheme of extending the imperial jurisdiction: and both were now made more evident. He put the disputed territories in sequestration, till the cause should be decided at Vienna; and while the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy ravaged Montferrat, a German army took and pillaged the city of Mantua³³.

Ferdinand now thought the time was come for realizing that idea which he had long revolved, of reducing the electoral princes to the condition of grandees of Spain, and the bishops to the state of imperial chaplains. Sensible, however, of the danger of alarming both religions at once, he resolved to begin with the Protestants; and accordingly issued an edict, ordering them to restore, without loss of time, all the benefices and church lands, which they had held since the peace of Passau³⁴.

But it was easier to issue such an edict than to carry it into execution; and Ferdinand, though possessed of an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, under two of the ablest generals in Europe, found reason to repent of his temerity. France gave the first check to his ambition. Cardinal Richelieu had early interested himself in the affairs of Mantua: Lewis, in person, had forced the famous pass of Sufa, during the siege of Modena. And peace was no sooner concluded with the Hugonots than the cardinal crossed the Alps, at

33. N'ger. *Dissquisit. de Mant.* Ducot.

Barchelius, p. 185. Puffend. *Comment. Reb. Succ.* lib. i.

34. Barre, ubi sup.

the head of twenty thousand men; gained several advantages over the Spaniards and Imperialists, chased the duke of Savoy from his dominions, and obliged the emperor to grant the investiture of Mantua and Montferrat to the duke of Nevers³⁵. The duke of Savoy, during these transactions, died of chagrin; and Spinola, who had failed to reduce Casal, is supposed to have perished of the same distemper. The accommodation between France and the empire, which terminated this war, was partly negotiated by Julio Mazarine, who now first appeared on the theatre of the world as a priest and politician, having formerly been a captain of horse³⁶.

Meanwhile the elector of Saxony, and other princes of the Augsburg Confession, remonstrated against the edict of *Restitution*: they maintained that the emperor had no right to command such restitution, which ought to be made the subject of deliberation in a general diet. A diet was accordingly held at Ratisbon; and the greater part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to quiet the Protestants, by granting them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of such benefices as they had possessed since the treaty of Passau. But this advice being vigorously opposed by the ecclesiastical electors, who made use of arguments more agreeable to the views of Ferdinand, he continued obstinate in his purpose; and the Protestants, in order to save themselves from that robbery with which they were threatened, and which was already begun in many places, secretly formed an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden³⁷.—But before I introduce this extraordinary man, we must take a retrospective view of the northern kingdoms, which had hitherto had no connection with the general system of Europe, and had scarce offered any thing interesting since the death of Gustavus Vasa.

35. Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Rich. Mazarini*.

36. Id. *ibid.* Gualdo, *Vita di*

37. Puffend., *ubi sup.* Barre, *tom. ix.*

Eric Vasa, the son and successor of Gustavus, proving a dissolute and cruel prince, was dethroned and imprisoned by the states of Sweden, in 1568. He was succeeded by his brother John; who, after attempting in vain to re-establish the Catholic religion, died in 1592, and left the crown to his son Sigismund, already elected king of Poland. Sigismund, like his father, being a zealous Catholic, and the Swedes no less zealous Lutherans, they deposed him in the year 1600, and raised to the sovereignty his uncle Charles IX. who had been chiefly instrumental in preserving their religious liberties. The Poles attempted in vain to restore Sigismund to the throne of Sweden. Charles swayed the sceptre till his death, which happened in 1611. He was succeeded in the throne by his son, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus³⁸.

Russia, during that period, was a prey to civil wars. John Basilowitz II. dying in 1584, left two sons, Theodore and Demetrius. Theodore succeeded his father on the throne; and at the instigation of Boris, his prime minister, ordered his brother Demetrius to be murdered. He himself died soon after; and Boris, though suspected of poisoning his master, was proclaimed king. Meanwhile a young man appeared in Lithuania, under the name and character of the prince Demetrius, pretending that he had escaped out of the hands of the assassin. Assisted by a Polish army, he entered Moscow in 1605, and was proclaimed czar without opposition; the mother and son of Boris, who was now dead, being dragged to prison by the populace. The rage of that populace was soon turned against Demetrius. He was slain on his marriage day; together with most of his Polish attendants, who had rendered him obnoxious to the Russians. A body, said to be his, was exposed to public view; and Zuzki, a nobleman, who had fomented the insurrection, was de-

38. Loccen. *Hist. Succ.* lib. vii.

clared his successor. But scarce was Zuski seated on the throne, when a second Demetrius made his appearance; and after his death, a third. Poland and Sweden took part in the quarrel. Zuski was delivered up to the Poles, and Demetrius was massacred by the Tartars. But a fourth, and even a fifth Demetrius appeared: and Russia, during these struggles, was repeatedly ravaged by opposite factions and foreign troops. At length Michael Theodorowitz, son of Romanow, bishop of Rostow, afterwards patriarch, related by females to the czar John Basilowitz, was raised to the throne; and this prince, having concluded a peace with Sweden and Poland, in 1618, restored tranquillity to Russia, and transmitted the crown to his descendants³⁹.

Denmark affords nothing that merits our attention during the reign of Frederic II. who succeeded his father, Christian III. in 1558; nor during the reign of his son and successor, Christian IV. before he was chosen general of the league in Lower Saxony. And the transactions of Christian IV. even while vested with that command, are too unimportant to merit a particular detail. The issue of his operations has been already related.

Sweden alone, during those times, of all the northern kingdoms, yields a spectacle worthy of observation. No sooner was Gustavus seated on the throne, though only eighteen years of age at his accession, than he signalized himself by his exploits against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown. Profiting afterwards by peace, which he had found necessary, he applied himself to the study of civil affairs; and by a wise and vigorous administration, supported with salutary laws, he reformed many public abuses, and gave order, prosperity, and weight to the state. In a war against Russia, he subdued almost all Finland, and secured to himself the possession of his conquests by a treaty. His cousin Sigismund, king of Poland, treating him as an usurper,

39. Ludolf. Puffendorf. Petreius.

and refusing peace, when offered by Gustavus, he over-ran Livonia, Prussia, and Lithuania⁴⁰. An advantageous truce of six years, concluded with Poland, in 1629, gave him leisure to take part in the affairs of Germany, and to exhibit more fully those heroic qualities, which will ever be the admiration of mankind.

Gustavus had many reasons for making war against the emperor. Ferdinand had assisted his enemy, the king of Poland: he treated the Swedish ambassador with disrespect; and he had formed a project for extending his dominion over the Baltic. If the king of Sweden looked tamely on, till the German princes were finally subjected, the independency of the Gothic monarchy, as well as that of the other northern kingdoms, would be in danger.

But the motives which chiefly induced Gustavus to take arms against the head of the empire, were the love of glory and zeal for the Protestant religion. These, however, did not transport him beyond the bounds of prudence. He laid his design before the states of Sweden; and he negotiated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I. still desirous of the restoration of the Palatine, agreed to send the king of Sweden six thousand men. These troops were raised in the name of the marquis of Hamilton, and supposed to be maintained by that nobleman, that the appearance of neutrality might be preserved⁴¹. The

40. Loeven. lib. viii. Puffend. lib. ii. During this war, the practice of duelling rose to such a height, both among officers and private men, in the Swedish army, as induced Gustavus to publish a severe edict, denouncing death against every offender: and by a strict execution of that edict, the evil was effectually removed. (Harte's *Life of Gustavus*, vol. i.) When two of the generals demanded permission to decide a quarrel by the sword, he gave a seeming consent, and told them he would himself be an eye-witness of their valour and prowess. He accordingly appeared on the ground, but accompanied by the public executioner who had orders to cut off the head of the conqueror. The high spirited combatants, subdued by such firmness, fell on their knees at the king's feet; were ordered to embrace, and continued friends to the end of their lives. Scheffer, *Memorand. Suec. Gent.*

41. Rushworth, vol. i.

people were more forward than the king. The flower of Gustavus's army, and many of his best officers, by the time he entered Germany, consisted of Scottish and English adventurers, who thronged over to support the Protestant cause, and to seek renown under the champion of their religion⁴²; so that the conquests even of this illustrious hero, may partly be ascribed to British valour and British sagacity!

The most necessary supply, however, that Gustavus received was an annual subsidy from cardinal Richelieu, of twelve hundred thousand livres; a small sum in our days, but considerable at that time, especially in a country where the precious metals are still scarce. The treaty between France and Sweden is a master-piece in politics. Gustavus agreed, in consideration of the stipulated subsidy, to maintain in Germany an army of thirty-six thousand men; bound himself to observe a strict neutrality toward the duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the Catholic League, on condition that they should not join the emperor against the Swedes; and to preserve the rights of the Romish church, wherever he should find it established⁴³. By these ingenious stipulations, which do so much honour to the genius of Richelieu, the Catholic princes were not only freed from all alarm on the score of religion, but furnished with a pretext for withholding their assistance from the emperor, as a step which would expose them to the arms of Sweden.

Gustavus had entered Pomerania when this treaty was concluded, and soon after made himself master of Frankfort upon the Oder, Colberg, and several other important places. The Protestant princes, however, were still backward in declaring themselves, lest they should be separately crushed by the imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their assistance. In order to put an end to this irresolu-

42. Burnet, *Mem. of the House of Hamilton*, vol. i.

43. *Londorp. Act. Pub.* tom. iv.

tion, Gustavus summoned the elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days; and on receiving an evasive answer, he marched directly to Berlin. This spirited conduct had the desired effect: the gates were thrown open, and Gustavus was received as a friend. He was soon after joined by the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who being persecuted by the Catholic league, put themselves under his protection. Gustavus now marched towards Leipzig, where Tilly lay encamped. That experienced general

Sept. 7. advanced into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagonist, at the head of thirty thousand veterans.

The king of Sweden's army consisted nearly of an equal number of men; but the Saxon auxiliaries being raw and undisciplined, fled at the first onset; yet did Gustavus, by his superior conduct, and the superior prowess of the Swedes, gain a complete victory over Tilly and the Imperialists⁴⁴.

This blow threw Ferdinand into the utmost consternation; and if the king of Sweden had marched immediately to Vienna, it is supposed he could have made himself master of that capital. But it is impossible for human foresight to discern all the advantages that may be reaped from a great and singular stroke of good fortune. Hannibal waited his time at Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, when he might have led his victorious army to Rome; and Gustavus Adolphus, instead of besieging Vienna, or laying waste the emperor's hereditary dominions, took a different route, and had the satisfaction of erecting a column on the opposite bank of the Rhine, in order to perpetuate the progress of his arms⁴⁵.

The consequences of the battle of Leipzig, however, were great. Nor did Gustavus fail to improve that victory which he had so gloriously earned. He was instantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, whom his success

44. Harte's *Life of Gustavus*, vol. ii.

45. *Mercur. Franc.* à l'An. 1631. Harte, ubi sup.

had inspired with courage. The measures of the Catholic League were utterly disconcerted; and the king of Sweden made himself master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine, comprehending a space of near one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns.

The elector of Saxony, in the mean time, entered Bohemia, and took Prague. Count Tilly was killed April 5.
A. D. 1632. in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech. And Gustavus, who by that passage gained immortal honour, soon after reduced Augsbourg, and there re-established the Protestant religion. He next marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almost every city thrown open on his approach. He entered the capital in triumph, had there an opportunity of displaying the liberality of his mind. When pressed to revenge on Munich the cruelties (too horrid to be described) which Tilly had perpetrated at Magdebourg; to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to ashes, "No!" replied he: "let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who have rendered their memory detestable by abusing the rights of conquest; in doing violence to humanity, and destroying the precious monuments of art ⁴⁶."

During these transactions, the renowned Walstein, who had been for a time in disgrace, but was restored to the chief command with unlimited powers, soon after the defeat at Leipzig, had recovered Prague, and the greater part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle near Nuremburg; but that cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king of Sweden was repulsed in attempting to force his entrenchments. Aug. 24. The action lasted for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swedish army, not excepting the body of reserve, was led on to the attack.

The king's person was in imminent danger; the Austrian cavalry falling out furiously from their intrenchments on the

46. Harte, vol. ii. Le Vassor, *Hist. Louis XIII.*

right and left, when the efforts of the Swedes began to slacken; and a masterly retreat only could have saved him from a total overthrow. That service was partly performed by an old Scotch colonel of the name of Hepburn, who had resigned his commission in disgust, but was present at this assault. To him Gustavus applied in his distress, seeing no officer of equal experience at hand, and trusting to the colonel's natural generosity of spirit. He was not deceived. Hepburn's pride overcame his resentment. "This," said he (and he persevered in his resolution) "is the last time that ever I will serve so ungrateful a prince!"—Elated with the opportunity that was offered him of gathering fresh laurels, and of exalting himself in the eye of a master, by whom he thought himself injured, he rushed into the thickest of the battle; delivered the orders of the king of Sweden to his army, and conducted the retreat with so much order and ability, that the Imperialists durst not give him the smallest disturbance⁴⁷.

This severe check, and happy escape from almost inevitable ruin, ought surely to have moderated the ardour of Gustavus. But it had not sufficiently that effect. In marching to the assistance of the elector of Saxony, he again gave battle to Wallenstein with an inferior force, in the wide plain of Lutzen, and lost his life in a hot engagement, which terminated in the defeat of the imperial army. That engagement was attended with circumstances sufficiently memorable to merit a particular detail.

Soon after the king of Sweden arrived at Naumburg, he learned that Wallenstein had moved his camp from Weidensfels to Lutzen; and although that movement freed him from all necessity of fighting, as it left open his way into Saxony by Degaw, he was keenly stimulated with an appetite for giving

⁴⁷ *Mem. de l'Hist. art. Sued.* sect. viii. This anecdote relative to Hepburn is told somewhat differently by Mr. Harte; who, jealous of the honour of his hero Gustavus, seems scrupulous in admitting the merit of the Scottish and English officers.

battle. He accordingly convened, in his own apartment, his two favourite generals, Bernard, duke of Saxe Weymar, and Kniphausen, and desired them to give Nov. 4. their opinions freely, and without reserve, in regard to the eligibility of such a measure. The youthful and ardent spirit of the duke, congenial to that of the king, instantly caught fire, and he declared in favour of an engagement. But the courage of Kniphausen, matured by reflection, and chastised by experience, made him steadily and uniformly oppose the hazarding of an action at that juncture, as contrary to the true principles of the military science. "No commander," said he, "ought to encounter an enemy greatly superior to him in strength, unless compelled so to do by some pressing necessity. Now your majesty is neither circumscribed in place, nor in want of provisions, forage, or warlike stores ⁴⁸."

Gustavus seemed to acquiesce in the opinion of this able and experienced general; yet was he still greatly ambitious of a new trial at arms with Walstein. And no sooner was he informed, on his nearer approach, that the imperial army had received no alarm, nor the general any intelligence of his motions, than he declared his resolution of giving battle to the enemy.

That declaration was received with the strongest demonstrations of applause, and the most lively expressions of joy. At one moment the whole Swedish army made its Nov. 5. evolutions, and pointed its course towards the imperial camp. No troops were ever known to advance with so much alacrity; but their ardour was damped, and their vigour wasted, before they could reach their hostile antagonists. By a mistake in computing the distance, they had eight miles to march instead of five, and chiefly through fresh ploughed lands, the passage of which was difficult beyond description; the miry ground clinging to the feet and legs of the

⁴⁸. Harte, vol. ii.

soldiers; and reaching, in some places, almost as high as the knee ⁴⁹.

Nor were these the only difficulties the Swedes had to encounter before they arrived at Lutzen. When they came within two miles of the spot, where they hoped for a speedy termination of all their toils, they found a marshy swamp, formed by a stagnating brook, over which lay a paltry bridge, so narrow that only two men could march over it abreast. In consequence of this new obstacle, it was sun-set before the whole Swedish army could clear the pass; and Wallstein having been by that time informed of the approach of Gustavus, was employed in fortifying his camp, and in taking every other measure for his own safety and the destruction of his enemy, that military skill could suggest.

The situation of the king of Sweden was now indeed truly perilous. He saw himself reduced to the necessity of giving battle under the most adverse circumstances; or of running the hazard of being routed in attempting a retreat with the troops fatigued, and almost fainting for want of food. Yet was a retreat thought expedient by some of his generals. But Gustavus, in a tone of decision, thus silenced their arguments:—"I cannot bear to see Wallstein *under my beard*, without *making some animadversions* upon him, I long to *un-earth him*," added he, "and to *behold* with my *own eyes* how he can *acquit himself* in the *open field* ⁵⁰."

Conformable to these sentiments, the king of Sweden came to a fixed resolution of giving battle to the imperial army next morning, and of beginning the action two hours before day. But the extreme darkness of the night rendered the execution of the latter part of his plan impracticable; and when morning began to dawn, and the sun to
 Nov. 6. dispel the thick fog that had obscured the sky, an unexpected obstacle presented itself. Across the line, on which the Swedish left wing proposed to advance, was cut a deep

49. Id. *ibid*.50. *Sold. Sued.*

ditch too difficult for the troops to pass; so that the king was obliged to make his whole army move to the right, in order to occupy the ground which lay between that ditch and Walstein's camp⁵¹.

This movement was not made without some trouble and a considerable loss of time. Having at length completed it, between eight and nine in the morning, Gustavus ordered two hymns to be sung; and riding along the lines with a commanding air, he thus harangued his Swedish troops:—
 “ My companions and friends! shew the world this day
 “ what you really are. Acquit yourselves like disciplined
 “ men, who have seen and been engaged in service; observe
 “ your orders, and behave intrepidly, for your own sakes as
 “ well as for mine. If you so respect yourselves, you will
 “ find the blessing of heaven on the point of your swords,
 “ and reap deathless honour, the sure and inestimable re-
 “ ward of valour. But if, on the contrary, you give way
 “ to fear, and seek self-preservation in flight, then infamy is
 “ as certainly your portion, as my disgrace and your de-
 “ struction will be the consequence of such a conduct⁵². ”

The king of Sweden next addressed his German allies, who chiefly composed the second line of his army; lowering a little the tone of his voice, and relaxing his air of authority: “ Friends, officers, and fellow-soldiers,” said he, “ let me conjure you to behave valiantly this day. You
 “ shall fight not only under me, but with me. My blood
 “ shall mark the path you ought to pursue. Keep firmly
 “ therefore within your ranks, and second your leader with
 “ courage. If you so act, victory is ours, together with all
 “ its advantages, which you and your posterity shall not fail
 “ to enjoy. But if you give ground, or fall into disorder,
 “ your lives and liberties will become a sacrifice to the ene-
 “ my⁵³. ”

51. Harte, vol. ii.

52. *Soldat. Suedois. Merc. Franc. Swedish Intelligence.*

53. *Chemnitz, de Bell. Succ. German.*

On the conclusion of these two emphatical speeches, one universal shout of applause saluted the ears of Gustavus. Having disposed his army in order of battle, that warlike monarch now took upon himself, according to custom, the particular command of the right wing, and drew his sword about nine in the morning; being attended by the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, Crailsham, grand master of his household, a body of English and Scottish gentlemen, and a few domestics. The action soon became general, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. But the veteran Swedish brigades of the first line, though the finest troops in the world, and esteemed *invincible*, found the passing of certain ditches, which Walstein had ordered to be hollowed and lined with musqueteers, so exceedingly perplexing and difficult, that their ardour began to abate, and they seemed to pause, when their heroic prince flew to the dangerous station; and, dismounting, snatched a partizan from one of the officers, and said in an austere tone, accompanied with a stern look,

“ If after having passed so many rivers, scaled the walls
 “ of numberless fortresses, and conquered in various bat-
 “ tles, your native intrepidity hath at last deserted you,
 “ stand firm at least for a few seconds:—have yet the cou-
 “ rage to behold your master die—in a manner worthy of
 “ himself!—And he offered to cross the ditch.”

“ Stop, Sir! for the sake of heaven,” cried all the soldiers;—“ spare that invaluable life!—Distrust us not, and
 “ the business shall be done⁵⁴.”

Satisfied, after such an assurance, that his brave brigades in the centre would not deceive him, Gustavus returned to the head of the right wing, where his presence was much wanted; and making his horse spring boldly across the last ditch, set an example of gallantry to his officers and soldiers, which they thought themselves bound to imitate.

Having cast his eye over the enemy's left wing that opposed him, as soon as he found himself on the farther side of the fosse, and seen there three squadrons of imperial cuirassiers, completely clothed in iron, the king of Sweden called colonel Stalhaus to him, and said, "Stalhaus! charge home these black fellows; for they are the men that will otherwise undo us ⁵⁵."

Stalhaus executed the orders of his royal master with great intrepidity and effect. But in the meantime, about eleven o'clock, Gustavus lost his life. He was then fighting sword in hand, at the head of the Smaland cavalry, which closed the right flank of the centre of his army, and is supposed to have outstripped, in his ardour, the invincible brigades that composed his main body. The Swedes fought like roused lions, in order to revenge the death of their king: many and vigorous were their struggles; and the approach of night alone prevented Kniphausen and the duke of Saxe-Weymar from gaining a decisive victory ⁵⁶.

During nine hours did the battle rage with inexpressible fierceness. No field was ever disputed with more obstinacy than the plain of Lutzen; where the Swedish infantry not only maintained their ground against a brave and greatly superior army, but broke its force, and almost completed its destruction. Nor could the flight of the Saxons, or the arrival of Pappenheim, one of the ablest generals in the imperial service, with a reinforcement of seven thousand fresh troops, shake the unconquerable fortitude of the Swedes. The gallant death of that great man served but to crown their glory, and immortalize their triumph. "Tell the Wallstein," said he, presuming on the consequences that would result from the death of the Swedish monarch, "that I have preserved the Catholic religion, and made the emperor a free man ⁵⁷!"—The death of Gustavus deserves more particular notice.

55. Harte, vol. ii.

56. Id. *ibid.*57. Riccius *de Bell. Germ.*

The king of Sweden first received a ball in his left arm. This wound he either felt not, or disregarded for a time, still pressing on with intrepid valour. Yet the soldiers perceived their leader to be wounded, and expressed their sorrow on that account: "Courage, my comrades!" cried he, "the hurt is nothing; let us resume our ardour, and maintain the charge ⁵⁸." At length, however, perceiving his voice and strength to fail him, he desired his cousin the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, to convey him to some place of safety.

In that instant, as the warlike king's brave associates were preparing to conduct him out of the scene of action, an imperial cavalier advanced, unobserved, and crying aloud, "Long have I fought thee!" transpierced Gustavus through the body with a pistol ball ⁵⁹. But this bold champion did not long enjoy the glory of his daring exploit: for the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg's master of the horse shot him dead, with the vaunting words yet recent on his lips ⁶⁰.

Piccolomini's cuirassiers now made a furious attack upon the king of Sweden's companions. Gustavus was held up on his saddle for some time; but his horse having received a wound in the shoulder, made a furious plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His majesty's military followers were soon after utterly dispersed, but his personal attendants remained with him. His two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, threw themselves over their master's body; and one gentleman of the bed-chamber, who lay on the ground, having cried out, in order to save his sovereign's life, that he was king of Sweden, was instantly stabbed to the heart, by an imperial cuirassier ⁶¹.

Gustavus being afterwards asked who he was, replied

58. *Merc. Franc.*

59. *Harte*, vol. ii.

60. *Harte*, vol. ii. This promptitude, and other collateral circumstances, seem to prove, that the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, is by no means chargeable with the death of Gustavus, notwithstanding all the attempts that have been made to criminate him.

61. *Id. ibid.*

with heroic firmness and magnanimity, "I am the king of Sweden! and seal with my blood the Protestant religion and liberties of Germany"⁶². The Imperialists gave him five barbarous wounds, and a bullet passed through his head, yet had he strength left to exclaim, "My God! my God!"⁶³. His body was recovered by Stalhaus, in spite of the most vigorous efforts of Piccolomini, who strove to carry it off.

No prince, ancient or modern, seems to have possessed in so eminent a degree, as Gustavus Adolphus, the united qualities of the hero, the statesman, and the commander; that intuitive genius which conceives, that wisdom which plans, and that happy combination of courage and conduct which gives success to an enterprise. Nor was the military progress of any leader ever equally rapid, under circumstances equally difficult; with an inferior force, against warlike nations, and disciplined troops, commanded by able and experienced generals. His greatest fault as a king and a commander, was an excess of valour. He usually appeared in the front of the battle, mounted on a horse of a particular colour; which, with his large and majestic stature, surpassing that of every other Swede, made him known both to friends and foes⁶⁴.

But Gustavus had other qualities beside those of the military and political kind. He was a pious Christian, a warm friend, a tender husband, a dutiful son, an affectionate father. And the sentiments suited to all these softer characters are admirably displayed, in a letter from the Swedish monarch to his minister Oxenstiern, written a few days before the battle of Lutzen. "Though the cause in which I am engaged," said he, "is just and good, yet the event of war; because of the vicissitudes of human affairs, must ever be deemed doubtful. Uncertain also is the duration of mortal life; I therefore require and beseech you, in the name

62. Harte, vol. ii.

63. Id. *ibid*.64. Harte, *ubi. sup*.

“ of our blessed Redeemer! to preserve your fortitude of
 “ spirit, though events should not proceed in perfect con-
 “ formity to my wishes.

“ Remember likewise,” continued Gustavus, “ how I
 “ should comfort myself in regard to you, if by divine per-
 “ mission I might live till that period when you should have
 “ occasion for my assistance of any kind. Consider me
 “ as a man, the guardian of a kingdom, who has struggled
 “ with difficulties for twenty years, and passed through
 “ them with reputation, by the protection and mercy of
 “ heaven; as a man, who loved and honoured his relations,
 “ and who neglected life, riches, and happy days, for the
 “ preservation and glory of his country and faithful subjects;
 “ expecting no other recompense, than to be declared, *The*
 “ *prince who fulfilled the duties of that station which Pro-*
 “ *vidence had assigned him in this world.*

“ They who survive me,” added he, “ for I, like others,
 “ must expect to feel the stroke of mortality, are, on my ac-
 “ count, and for many other reasons, real objects of your
 “ commiseration:—they are of the tender and defenceless
 “ sex,—a helpless mother, who wants a guide, and an infant
 “ daughter, who needs a protector!—Natural affection
 “ forces these lines from the hand of a son and a pa-
 “ rent⁶⁵.”

The death of the king of Sweden presaged great altera-
 tions in the state of Europe. The elector Palatine, who
 was in hopes of being restored not only to his hereditary do-
 minions, but to the throne of Bohemia, died soon after of
 chagrin. The German Protestants, now without a head,

65. Loccen. *Hist. Suec.* It is not a little surprising that Gustavus, in this memorable Letter, makes no mention of his beloved consort Eleanora; in parting from whom, when he began his march for Saxony, he was so much affected, that he could only say, “ God bless you!”—and in bewailing whose widowed condition (his ejaculation to the Deity excepted) his last words were employed—“ Alas, my poor queen!” sighed he, in his dying moments. —“ Alas, my poor queen!” Harte, vol. ii.

became divided into factions; the Imperialists, though defeated, were transported with joy, and prepared to push the war with vigour; while the Swedes, though victorious, were overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of their heroic prince, whose daughter and successor, Christina, was only six years of age. A council of regency, however, being appointed, and the management of the war in Germany, committed to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a man of great political talents, the Protestant confederacy again wore a formidable aspect. The alliance between France and Sweden was renewed, and hostilities were pushed with vigour and success by the duke of Saxe-Weimar, and the generals Bannier and Horn. A. D. 1633.

Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the war became every day more burthenome and disagreeable, both to the Swedes and their German allies; and Oxenstiern, who had hitherto successfully employed his genius in finding resources for the support of the common cause, saw it in danger of sinking, when an unexpected event gave new hopes to the confederates. The emperor, become jealous of the vast powers he had granted to Wallstein, whose insolence and ambition knew no bounds, resolved to deprive him of the command; and Wallstein, in order to prevent his disgrace, is said to have concerted the means of a revolt. It is at least certain, that he attempted to secure himself by winning the attachment of his soldiers; and Ferdinand, afraid of the delay of a legal trial, or having no proof of his treason, and dreading his resentment, had recourse to the dishonourable expedient of assassination⁶⁶. A. D. 1634.

But the fall of this great man, who had chiefly obstructed

66. Barre, tom. ix. *Anal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Harte, vol. ii. If Wallstein had formed any treasonous design, it seems to have been after he discovered his ruin to be otherwise inevitable. He was too great and haughty for a subject; and the death of Gustavus had rendered him less necessary to the emperor.

the progress of the Swedish arms, both before and since the death of Gustavus, was not followed by all those advantages which the confederates expected from it. The Imperialists, animated by the presence of the king of Hungary, the emperor's eldest son, who succeeded Wallstein in the command of the army, made up in valour what their general wanted in experience. Twenty thousand Spanish and Italian troops arrived in Germany under the duke of Feria; the cardinal Infant, the new governor of the Low Countries, likewise brought a reinforcement to the Catholic cause: the duke of Lorraine, a soldier of fortune, joined the king of Hungary with ten thousand men; and the duke of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, also found himself under the necessity of uniting his forces to those of the emperor.

Meanwhile the Swedish generals, Bannier, Horn, and the duke of Saxe-Weymar, maintained a superiority on the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube; and the elector of Saxony, in Bohemia and Lusatia. Horn and the duke of Saxe-Weymar united their forces, in order to oppose the progress of the king of Hungary, who had already made himself master of Ratisbon. They came up with him near Nordlingen, where was fought one of the most obstinate and bloody battles recorded in history; and where the Swedes were totally routed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts⁶⁷. In vain did the duke of Saxe-Weymar remind them of Leipzig and Lutzen: though a consummate general, he wanted that all inspiring spirit of Gustavus, which communicated his own heroism to his troops, and made them irresistible, unless when opposed to insuperable bulwarks.

This defeat threw the members of the Evangelical Union into the utmost consternation, and despair. They accused the Swedes, whom they had lately extolled as their deliverers, of all the calamities which they felt or dreaded; and

67. Loccen. lib. ix. Puffend. lib. vi.

the emperor, taking advantage of these discontents and his own success, did not fail to divide the confederates yet more by negotiation. The elector of Saxony first deserted the alliance; and a treaty with the court of Vienna, to the following purport, was at length signed at Prague, by A. D. 1635. all the Protestant princes, except the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. “The Protestants shall retain for ever the
 “mediate ecclesiastical benefices, which did not depend immediately upon the emperor, and were seized before the
 “pacification of Passau; and they shall retain, for the space
 “of forty years, the immediate ecclesiastical benefices, though seized since the treaty of Passau, if actually enjoyed before the 12th day of November, in the year 1627;
 “the exercise of the Protestant religion shall be freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, except the kingdom of Bohemia, and the provinces belonging to the house
 “of Austria: the duke of Bavaria shall be maintained in possession of the Palatinate, on condition of paying the
 “jointure of Frederic’s widow, and granting a proper subsistence to his son, when he shall return to his duty; and
 “there shall be, between the emperor and the confederates
 “of the Augsbург confession, who shall sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of every thing taken since the irruption of Gustavus into the empire.”

In consequence of this pacification, almost the whole weight of the war devolved upon the Swedes and the French, between whom a fresh treaty had been concluded by Richelieu and Oxenstiern; and a French army marched into Germany, in order to support the duke of Saxe-Weymar. But the success of these new hostilities, which France, Sweden, and the United Provinces maintained against both branches of the house of Austria, must furnish the subject of another letter.

L E T T E R LXXV.

The general View of the EUROPEAN CONTINENT continued, from the Treaty of PRAGUE, in 1635, to the Peace of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

WHILE Germany was a scene of war and desolation, cardinal Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron. Though universally hated, he continued to hold the reins of government. Several conspiracies were formed against him, at the instigation of the duke of Orleans and the queen-mother; but they were all defeated by his vigilance and vigour, and terminated in the ruin of their contrivers. The widow of Henry IV. was banished the kingdom; her son, Gaston, was obliged to beg his life; the marshals Marillac and Montmorency were brought to the block; and the gibbets were every day loaded with inferior criminals, condemned by the most arbitrary sentences, and in a court erected for the trial of the cardinal's enemies. In order to render himself more necessary to the throne, as well as to complete his political scheme, he now resolved to engage France in open hostilities with the whole house of Austria; and had this step been taken while the power of the Swedes was unbroken, and the Protestant princes united, it could not have failed of extraordinary success. But Richelieu's jealousy of Gustavus prevented him, during the life of that monarch, from joining the arms of France to those of Sweden; and Oxenstiern, before the unfortunate battle of Nordlingen, was unwilling to give the French any footing in Germany. That overthrow altered his way of thinking: he offered to put Lewis XIII. immediately in possession of Philippsburg

burg and Alsace, on condition that France should take an active part in the war against the emperor. Richelieu readily embraced a proposal that corresponded so entirely with his views. He also concluded an alliance with the United Provinces, in hopes of sharing the Low Countries; and he sent a herald to Brussels, in the name of his master, to denounce war against Spain¹. A treaty was at the same time entered into with the duke of Savoy, in order to strengthen the French interest in Italy.

If France had not taken a decided part in the war, the treaty of Prague would have completed the destruction of the Swedish forces in Germany. But Lewis XIII. or rather cardinal Richelieu, now began to levy troops with great diligence, and five considerable armies were soon in the field. The first and largest of these was sent into the Low Countries, under the marshals de Chatillon and Brezé; the second, commanded by the duke de la Force, marched into Lorraine; the third took the route of the duchy of Milan, under the marshal de Crequi; the duke of Rohan led the fourth into the Valteline; and the fifth acted upon the Rhine, under Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar. In order to oppose the operations of the French on the side of Lorraine, the emperor sent thither general Galas, an experienced officer, at the head of a powerful army, to join the duke of that territory, who intended to besiege Colmar, and had already made himself master of almost all the towns in its neighbourhood. The design against Colmar, however, was defeated by the severity of the season; and la Force obliged the duke of Lorraine to abandon Burgundy, which he had entered in the spring, with a view of reducing Monbelliard. This check, and the fatigues of his march, diminished the

1. Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Rich.* Le Vassor, *Hist. Louis XIII.* This is said to be the last declaration of war made by a herald at arms. Since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish a declaration at home, without sending into an enemy's country a cartel of defiance.

duke's army so much, that he was not able during the campaign to attempt any new enterprize.

Meanwhile Galas, the imperial general, had fixed his head-quarters at Worms, whence he sent detachments to ravage the country, and surprize the towns that were garrisoned by the Swedes. Mentz was blocked up by count Mansfeldt; and although the preservation of the place was of the utmost consequence to the confederates, as it secured their communication with both sides of the Rhine, the duke of Saxe-Weymar was in no condition to raise the blockade. He was still more interested in preserving Keitar-Louter, where he had deposited all the booty which he had taken since the beginning of the war. That place, however, though defended with such obstinacy that the greater part of the garrison had fallen in the breach, during the different assaults which it had sustained, was taken by storm, before the duke could afford it relief. Galas who had reduced it, afterwards sat down before Deux Ponts; but Weymar's army being by this time reinforced with eighteen thousand French troops, under the cardinal la Valette, the Imperial general was obliged to abandon his undertaking. Mansfeldt's lines were also forced, and supplies thrown into Mentz².

While the confederates lay under the cannon of that city, Galas assembled an army of thirty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Worms; and by sending detachments to occupy Sarbruck, and several other places, reduced the French and Swedes to the greatest extremity for want of provisions. In this emergency, they repassed the Rhine at Bingen, on a bridge of boats, as if their route had been for Coblentz, though their real design was to reach Vaudervange, where there was a French garrison. With this view they marched night and day, without refreshment or repose; yet Galas, who had crossed the Rhine at Worms, in order to

2. Barre, tom. ix. Puffend, lib. viii.

harrafs them in their retreat, overtook them with his cavalry at the river Glann, between Odernheim and Messenheim, where the Imperialists were repulsed. Not discouraged, however, by this check, Galas put himself at the head of nine thousand horse; traversed the duchy of Deux Ponts, passed the Sarré, entered Lorrain, and waited for the confederates in a defile between Vaudervange and Boulai. There an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the imperial cavalry was routed. The French afterwards retired to Pont à Mousson, and the Swedes to Moyenvie, with the wreck of their several armies; which although victorious, were both greatly reduced. Meantime Galas, being joined by his main body, made himself master of Vaudervange, and encamped near Zagermunde, between the Sarré and the Wilde, that he might be ready to join the duke of Lorrain³.

The French and their allies were yet less successful in other quarters. Nothing effectual was done in Italy, where the duke of Parma had the misfortune to see himself stripped of the best part of his dominions by the Spaniards, notwithstanding the efforts of Crequi and the duke of Savoy; who, in one battle, gained a considerable advantage over the enemy. In the Low Countries, where the highest hopes had been formed, the disappointment of cardinal Richelieu was still greater. He had computed on the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and a scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the duchy of Luxemburg, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Courtray, Artois, and Flanders, as far as Blackeberg, Damme, and Ruppelmonde, were assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the territory of Waes, the lordship of Mecklin, and all the rest of the Spanish Netherlands, were to be annexed to the republic of Holland. This scheme, however, proved as vain as it was ambitious. The Dutch were jealous of the growing power of France, and the prince of Orange had

³ Id. *ibid.*

a personal pique at cardinal Richelieu. Therefore, although the marshals Brezé and Chatillon were so fortunate as to defeat the Flemish army detached by the cardinal infant to give them battle, before their junction with the forces of the United Provinces, nothing of consequence was effected after that junction was formed. The French commanders were under the necessity of leading back the miserable remains of their army, wasted with fatigue and diseases; and the prince of Orange spent the latter part of the campaign in recovering the strong fortrefs of Schenck, which had been reduced by the enemy. Nor was this all. The cardinal infant perceiving, that in consequence of the many designs formed on all sides, the frontier of Picardy lay in a manner open, sent an army under the celebrated generals Piccolomini and John de Wer., to enter France on that side. This army took La Chapelle, Catelet, and Corbie; and the Parisians perceiving the enemy within three days march of their gates, were thrown into the utmost consternation. But, by the vigorous measures of Richelieu, a body of fifty thousand men were suddenly assembled, and the Spaniards and Flemings found themselves obliged to evacuate France⁴.

Having surmounted this danger, the French minister took the most effectual steps to secure the success of the ensuing campaign. In order to recover the friendship of Henry prince of Orange, whom he had offended by his haughtiness, he honoured him with the title of *Highness* instead of *Excellency*, a flattery which had the desired effect. And he concluded a treaty with the duke of Saxè-Weymar, in which it was stipulated, That, in consideration of an annual subsidy, the duke should maintain an army of eighteen thousand men, which he should command in person, as general of the troops belonging to the German princes in alliance with the French king, to whom he should take the oath of allegiance, and that Lewis should cede in his favour all the claims

4. Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.*

of France to Alsace. In consequence of this treaty, the duke being joined by a French army, under the cardinal La Valette, began the campaign with the siege of Saverne, which had been taken toward the close of the former year. The place made a gallant defence, A. D. 1635. in hopes of being relieved by Galas, who had promised to march against the besiegers. Perceiving, however, the impracticability of such an attempt, Galas made an irruption into Franche Compté, in conjunction with the duke of Lorraine. Meanwhile, La Valette and Weymar having recovered Saverne, omitted nothing that could obstruct or harass the Imperialists in their march: and their endeavours were so successful, that Galas lost about seven thousand men, before he entered Burgundy. He continued his march nevertheless, and undertook the siege of St. Jean de Laon, which he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the adjacent rivers; and being fast followed by the viscount de Turenne, he lost above five thousand men, and the greater part of his baggage, in his retreat^s.

During these transactions in Lorraine, Alsace, and Franche Compté, a decisive battle was fought in Upper Germany, between the Swedes under general Bannier, and the Imperialists commanded by the elector of Saxony. After watching the motions of each other for some time, they halted in the plains of Wislock, where both armies prepared for battle. The Imperial camp was pitched on an eminence, and fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the troops stood ready to engage. Desirous of drawing the enemy from that advantageous post, Bannier ordered part of his cavalry to advance and skirmish. This feint having in some measure the intended effect, Bannier ordered colonel Gun, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, to attack the enemy, and advanced himself at the head of five brigades to support that wing; while general Statens, with the left

5. Puffend. lib. viii. Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*

wing, wheeled round the hill, in order to charge the Imperialists in flank. These attacks were executed with such vigour, that the whole Austrian and Saxon infantry was broken or cut down. Five thousand men fell on the field or in the pursuit; seven thousand were taken, together with thirty pieces of cannon, one hundred and fifty ensigns, and an incredible number of waggons⁶.

The battle of Wislock, which restored the lustre of the Swedish arms, raised Bannier to the highest degree of military reputation, and gave a signal blow to the Imperial power, was followed by the demise of Ferdinand II. He died at

A. D. 1637. Vienna, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and

the eighteenth of his reign, and was succeeded in the Imperial throne by his son Ferdinand III. The accession of this prince made little alteration in the state of the war: for although the first year of the new reign was distinguished by no memorable enterprize, the greater part of it being wasted in fruitless negotiations, the next campaign was remarkably active and bloody; as if the contending powers had only been resting themselves, in order to renew, with more destructive rage, the work of death. The duke of Saxe-Weymar, who had already fully revenged the injuries of his family upon the house of Austria, advanced toward Rhinfeld early in the spring, and resolved to besiege

A. D. 1638. it in form. It was accordingly invested; but

the defence was so obstinate, that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of valour and military skill, the Imperialists had time to come to its relief, under general Savelli and the famous John de Wert. Both armies were immediately ranged in order of battle, and Weymar's right wing fell with such fury upon the enemy's left, commanded by Wert in person, that it was quickly broken. The left wing of Weymar's army was not equally successful. On the contrary, it was repulsed; but he collected his cavalry, and re-

peated the charge with such vigour that the enemy must have been totally routed, had they not retired under cover of the shades of night. The battle was renewed next day, when the defeat of the Imperialists was completed, and both their generals made prisoners, together with a great number of inferior officers ⁷.

The duke, after his victory, returned to the siege of Rhinfeld, to which he granted an honourable capitulation, in consideration of its gallant defence. Newburg, Rottelen, and Friburg, the capital of Brisgaw, were also reduced; and the siege of Brisac was undertaken, with the greatest confidence of success. Here the duke of Lorraine, and Goetz the Imperial general, attempted to interrupt Weymar's career, by attacking his intrenchments, but without effect. They always found him upon his guard; and Brisac was forced at last to surrender, after it had been reduced to such extremity by famine, that the governor was obliged to set a guard upon the burying-places, in order to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead ⁸.

The news of this important conquest no sooner reached Paris, than Lewis XIII. formed the scheme of annexing Brisac to the crown of France, and made Weymar very advantageous proposals on the subject. But that negotiation, if pushed, would have proved very difficult, as the duke had set his heart upon the county of Brisgaw, which he meant to keep in his own possession, that it might be a thorn in the side of the house of Austria; against which his hatred was inextinguishable, on account of the indignities offered to his great grandfather, John Frederick, by the emperor Charles V. He thought the conquest of Brisac would secure Brisgaw, of which he intended to make an establishment that would not easily be shaken. He therefore gallantly replied, when pressed by the French minister to explain himself on this point: "To part with my conquest, would be to sacrifice my honour: ask

7. Puffend. ubi sup. Barre, tom. ix. 8. *Mercur. de France*, à l'Ann. 1648.

"a virgin to deliver up her chastity!" He endeavoured, however, to amuse the court of France with a pretended negotiation, which was managed with so much dexterity by Erlach, his lieutenant, that Lewis agreed to furnish him with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, although nothing had been concluded in regard to Brisac⁹.

While the duke of Saxe-Weymar thus triumphed over the Imperialists in Alsace, the Swedish general Bannier prosecuted his conquest in Pomerania. After the victory obtained at Wislock, he reduced Gartz, Loëtz, Demmin, and Wolgast; and, understanding that Galas had extended his army, he sent Stalans and Torstenfon, two gallant officers, with a reconnoitring detachment, that surprised and cut in pieces two regiments of Imperial horse. But Charles Lewis, prince Palatine, son of the expelled elector, who had assembled some troops, and burned with impatience to re-establish himself by the sword, was less fortunate in Westphalia. Count Hasfeld, the emperor's lieutenant-general, in that province, advanced against him with a powerful army, in order to raise the siege of Lemgau, the capital of the county of Lippe. Lewis, sensible that he was in no condition to defend his lines against such a force, retreated towards Minden; but Hasfeld coming up with him in the valley of Aistheim, an action ensued, in which victory continued long doubtful, but at last declared in favour of the Imperialists. The Palatine's little army was almost utterly cut off, his artillery was lost, and his brother Robert made prisoner¹⁰.

In the beginning of next campaign, the two victorious commanders, Bannier and Weymar, concerted
 A. D. 1639. measures for penetrating into the heart of the Austrian dominions. Bannier accordingly crossed the Elbe, and made an irruption into the territories of Anhalt and Halberstadt. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind him, he pushed on with his cavalry, and surprised Salis, Grand-

9. Barre, tom. ix. Harte, vol. i.

10. Id. ibid.

master of the Imperial ordonance, in the neighbourhood of Oelnitz. The conflict was obstinate and bloody: no less than seven regiments of Imperialists were cut in pieces. The Swedish general next entered Saxony, and advanced as far as the suburbs of Dresden; where he defeated four Saxon regiments, and obliged a larger body of the enemy to take refuge under the cannon of that city. But understanding that Hasfeld, the Imperial general, was marching from Westphalia to interrupt his operations, he returned towards Zeitz, to join his infantry. While he remained there, intelligence was brought him, that the Saxons were encamped near Chemnitz, where they expected soon to be joined by the army under Hasfeld.

In order to prevent that junction, Bannier attacked the Saxon army; and, after a terrible conflict, obtained a complete victory. This success was followed by several others. He made an irruption into Bohemia, and laid great part of the country under contribution; then returning, crossed the Elbe, and fell upon general Hofskirk, encamped near Brandeiz, with ten regiments of imperial horse and seven battalions of foot. The action was maintained with great obstinacy: both sides fought with incredible intrepidity; but, at length, the Imperialists were forced to relinquish the field to the superior fortune of the Swedes, with the loss of two thousand men. Bannier pursued them to the walls of Prague, and took the Imperial generals, Hofskirk and Monticuculi, prisoners.

On purpose to carry the war into Silesia and Moravia, the Swedish general repassed the Elbe, and marched towards those countries. But he not there met with the success he expected. The enemy's forces multiplied daily, and it was impossible for him, with an inferior army, to succour every place that required his protection. The Protestants had promised him great assistance, but they were over-awed by the presence of the imperial troops. No insurrection appeared in his favour; yet was he not discouraged. He defeated a body of Imperialists

rialists at Glatz, and drove the Saxons three several times from their camp at Tirm¹¹.

But all the aspiring hopes of Bannier and the Swedes were suddenly blasted, by the immature death of Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar. He had began the campaign with the siege of Thau, which he ordered to be battered with red-hot bullets; a mode of attack which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that they surrendered almost instantly, though they had before baffled all the efforts of Guebriant the French general. Barnard's character was now so high, and his army so formidable to the imperial throne, that Ferdinand made some secret attempts to detach him from the French interest. But instead of listening to such proposals, which he considered as insidious, or slackening in his operations, he vigorously exerted himself in taking measures for passing the Rhine. While thus employed, he fell sick at Hummingen, whence he was transported by water to Newburg, and there expired in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of cardinal Richelieu, who was not only desirous of getting possession of Brisac, but afraid that his scheme of humbling the house of Austria might be defeated, if the duke of Saxe-Weymar should close with the emperor's proposals. Puffendorf not only supports this opinion, but positively affirms, that the duke was taken off by poison, and that his body had all the marks of it¹².

The death of Weymar was no sooner known, than a violent contest arose who should possess his army. Endeavours were used by the Swedish agents in Germany to engage the officers and soldiers to join general Bannier; the emperor took every measure in his power to draw them into his service, and regain possession of the places which the duke had conquered; and Charles Lewis, prince

11. Puffend. lib. xi. Loccen. lib. ix.
lib. xi. sec. xxxix.

12. *Comment. de Reb. Suec.*

Palatine, the re-establishment of whose family had been the chief cause of the war, attempted to gain them through the influence of England and Holland. But cardinal Richelieu ordered Lewis to be arrested at Moulins, in his return from London, and carried prisoner to the castle of Vincennes, where he was confined, till a treaty was concluded between France and the Weymarian officers. It was stipulated, That the troops of Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weymar, should constitute a separate body, under the direction of the officers named in his will for that purpose; that the French king should keep this body always effective, by the payment of a certain annual sum for raising recruits; that he should continue to the principal officers the same appointments which they had enjoyed under the duke, furnish them with bread, ammunition, and all other necessities of war, and ratify the several donations which Bernard had made to his officers and soldiers; that the troops should receive their orders from the duke of Longueville, through the medium of their own commanders, who should be summoned to all councils held for the service of the common cause; that the conquered places should be put into the hands of his most Christian majesty, who might at pleasure appoint governors for Brisac and Friburg, but that the garrisons should consist of an equal number of French and German soldiers, and the governors of the other places be chosen from the Weymarian army¹³.

In consequence of this important negotiation, which rendered the king of France sovereign of almost all Alsace, and

13. *Londorp. Art. Pub.* vol. iv. Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar, was a soldier of fortune, and one of the generals formed under Gustavus. After the death of that monarch, and the fatal battle of Nordlingen, where the Swedes under his command were cut off almost to a man, he collected an army of Germans, which was properly his own, and which he supported partly by the practice of war, and partly by the subsidy that he received from France. Notwithstanding his immature death, and the defeat at Nordlingen, he may be ranked among the greatest modern commanders. Turenne always acknowledged him to have been his master in the military science. *Mem. de la Faure.*

a great part of Brisgaw, the duke of Longueville, with the Weymarian army, marechal Guebriant, with the French troops, and the troops of Lunenburg, commanded by general Klitzing, joined Bannier at Erfurt. Nothing farther was now necessary to ensure success to the confederates beside unanimity, but that unfortunately was wanting. All claiming superiority, none chose to be directed, as each entertained a high opinion of his own merit, and sought to display his judgment by proposing some new plan of operations; so that Bannier found, that, although he had increased his numbers, he had acquired little additional strength. Perhaps his real force might rather be said to be diminished, as he was no longer allowed to follow the suggestions of his own genius, and strike the sudden and unexpected blows which distinguish the consummate general.

After long debates, it was agreed to attack Piccolomini, the Imperial general, in his camp at Salzbürg. With this view the confederates seized upon an eminence, whence they began a violent cannonading, and afterwards attacked the enemy's entrenchments sword in hand; but Piccolomini was so advantageously posted, that the attempt to force his camp was found impracticable. It was accordingly laid aside; and both armies continued in sight of each other, until scarcity began to reign in each camp. There seemed to be a kind of rivalry, who could longest endure the pressure of famine. But, on the side of the confederates, this inaction proceeded from irresolution, and a division of counsels; whereas, on that of the Imperialists, it was dictated by a prudent caution. Bannier, however, tired of such languid delay, set out for Franconia, in order to seize some advantageous post upon the Maine. But as he advanced toward the river Sala, he perceived that the enemy occupied the opposite bank. They were there entrenched; so that it was impossible for him to force a passage: he was therefore under the necessity of marching through the landgraviate of Hesse, where his army suffered greatly by famine.

Picolomini now endeavoured to penetrate into Lunenburg, but Bannier's diligence baffled all his efforts. He prevented the Imperialists from crossing the Weser, and refreshed his own army in that duchy, which had not yet been exhausted by the ravages of war. Pinched with famine, and harrassed by the perpetual alarms of the Hessians, Picolomini determined to lead his forces into Franconia. But, on his march thither, he was attacked by the Weymrian army, under the duke of Longueville; and, although not totally defeated, he could scarce have suffered more by such disaster¹⁴. It must, however, be considered as very honourable for that general, to have been able to make head against the combined forces of the confederates, and even to oblige them to quit the Imperial dominions.

But the house of Austria was less fortunate in other quarters, during the year 1640. The affairs of Philip IV. went backward in Italy: Catalonia revolted, and Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke. The Catalans were desirous of forming a republic; but too feeble to support themselves against the power of a tyrannical master, they were obliged to throw themselves into the arms of France, and ultimately to submit to the dominion of Spain. The Portuguese were more successful in their struggle for independency. Boiling with national hate, and irritated by despotic rule, they had long sought to break their chains. A law to compel the nobility, under pain of the forfeiture of their estates, to take up arms for the subjection of Catalonia, completed the general disaffection: and other circumstances conspired to hasten a revolution. An impenetrable plot had been forming, for upwards of three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whose grandfather had been deprived of his right to the crown of Portugal by Philip II. The conspirators now resolved to carry their design into execution, and effected it with incredible facility.

¹⁴ Puffend. lib. xii. Barre, tom. ix. Le Vassor, *Hist. Louis XIII.*

Olivarez had been so imprudent as to recall the Spanish garrison from Lisbon : very few troops were left in the whole realm of Portugal ; the oppressed people were ripe for an insurrection ; and the Spanish minister, in order to amuse the duke of Braganza, whose ruin he meditated, had given him the command of the arsenal. The duchess of Mantua, who had been honoured with the empty title of vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom without a blow. Vasconcelos, the Spanish secretary, and one of his clerks, were the only victims sacrificed to public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of the capital, and almost on the same day. The duke of Braganza was unanimously proclaimed king, under the name of John IV. A son does not succeed more quietly to the possessions of his father in a well regulated state. Ships were immediately dispatched from Lisbon to all the Portuguese settlements in Asia and Africa, as well as to those in the islands of the eastern and western ocean : and they all, with one accord, expelled their Spanish governors¹⁵. Portugal became again an independent kingdom ; and by the recovery of Brazil, which, during the Spanish administration, had been conquered by the Dutch, its former lustre was in some measure restored.

While all Europe rung with the news of this singular revolution, Philip IV. shut up in the inmost recesses of the Escorial, lost in the delirium of licentious pleasure, or bewildered in the maze of idle amusement, was utterly ignorant of it. The manner in which Olivarez made him acquainted with his misfortune is truly memorable. "I come," said that artful minister, "to communicate good news to your majesty : the duke of Braganza's whole fortune is become yours. He has been so presumptuous as to get himself declared king of Portugal ; and in consequence of this folly, your majesty is entitled to the forfeiture of all his

15. Vertot, *Hist. de la Revol. du Portugal*.

“ estates.”—“ Let the sequestration be ordered !” replied Philip, and continued his dissipations ¹⁶.

The emperor Ferdinand III. was of a less patient, or rather of a less indolent temper. He had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, in order to concert measures for carrying on the war, though he pretended to be desirous of peace. Bannier formed the design of dispersing this assembly, and even of surprising the city. Having joined the French army under Guebriant at Erfurt, he arrived at Hoff on the sixth of January ; and detaching thence five regiments of
A. D. 1641.

cavalry to Egra, under the command of major-general Wittemberg, who had orders to join the army at Porew, he advanced to Awerbach. The confederates next proceeded to Schwendorf, crossed the Danube upon the ice, and captured above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself, who intended to devote that day to the chase, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His advanced guard and equipage were taken.

The approach of the French and Swedish armies filled Ratisbon with consternation, as it was utterly unprovided against a siege, and full of strangers and suspected persons. The design of the confederates was to take advantage of the frost, in order to block up and starve the town ; but the weather unexpectedly becoming more mild, it was resolved to repass the Danube, before the ice should be thawed. Bannier, however, would not retire until he made an attempt to dissolve the diet. With that view, he approached Ratisbon, on the sixth of February ; and Guebriant, who commanded the vanguard, placing his artillery on the banks of the Rugen, which ran between the town and the confederates, saluted the emperor with five hundred shot ; an insult, which stung Ferdinand so keenly, that he seemed bereft of all the powers of reason and recollection ¹⁷.

During the deliberations of the diet at Ratisbon, the

16. *Anecdotes du Duc d'Oliveret.*

17. *Hist. du Gueb. liv. iv.*

counts d'Avaux and Salvius, the plenipotentiaries of France and Sweden, were negotiating at Hamburg the preliminaries of a general peace, with Lutzu, one of Ferdinand's aulic counsellors. After certain difficulties had been removed, it was agreed by these celebrated statesmen, that a congress for a general peace should be held at Munster and Osnabrug, the garrisons of which should march out; that the inhabitants should be released from their oath of allegiance to either party, and observe a strict neutrality during the time of negotiation; that both cities should be guarded by their own burghers and soldiers, commanded by the magistrates, who should be accountable for the effects, persons, and attendants of the negotiators; that the two conferences should be considered as only one congress, and the roads between the two cities be free for all goers and comers, together with the intermediate places, where the negotiators might think proper to confer with each other; that in case the negotiation should be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, Munster and Osnabrug should return to the same situation in which they were before the congress, but that the neutrality should be observed six weeks after the conferences were broken off; that all the safe-conducts on each side should be exchanged at Hamburg, through the mediation of the Danish ambassador, in the space of two months after the date of the agreement; that the emperor and king of Spain should grant safe-conducts to the ministers of France, Sweden, and their allies in Germany and elsewhere, and receive the same security from his Most Christian majesty; and that Sweden should grant safe-conducts to the emperor's plenipotentiaries, as well as to those of the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg. It was farther agreed, that France should treat at Munster, and Sweden at Osnabrug; and that each crown should have a secretary where the other's plenip-

potentiary was, in order to communicate their mutual resolutions.

The emperor refused to ratify this convention, which he said was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the interests of the Germanic body; and certain unexpected events, fatal to the hopes of the confederates, confirmed him in his resolution of continuing the war. After the ineffectual attempt upon Ratisbon, the French separated themselves from the Swedes, and marched toward Bamberg, under Guebriant, while Bannier took the rout of Chamb, with a view of penetrating into Misnia through Bohemia. Meanwhile the emperor, flaming with rage, issued orders for assembling a body of troops, with all possible dispatch, in order to revenge the insult he had suffered.

A powerful army was speedily formed by the activity of Piccolomini and the archduke Leopold. One part of it, under marechal Gleen, went in pursuit of Bannier, while the other, commanded by Piccolomini, besieged Newmark, which was defended by an officer of the name of Slang; who, after having sustained five assaults, was obliged to surrender prisoner of war. On the reduction of that place, Piccolomini rejoined Gleen, in order to pursue Bannier, who retreated across the forest of Bohemia. Having reached the other side of it, he found his progress impeded by the swelling of the river Pleis, but collected a number of boats, in which he embarked his troops with such expedition, that he had carried over his whole army before Piccolomini appeared upon the opposite bank. Neither this disappointment, however, the interposing stream, nor the presence of the enemy, retarded the progress of the Imperialists. The Austrian cavalry swam across the river; and the Swedes being now hemmed in between the Pleis and the Moldaw, Bannier's ruin seemed inevitable, when he extricated himself by one of those efforts of military genius, which redound more to the honour of a general than the acquisition of the greatest victory, as fortune has no share in the success.

Finding

Finding himself thus circumstanced, the Swedish general posted some troops at a mill below Prehnitz; where they made such an obstinate and vigorous resistance, when attacked by Piccolomini, that the main body of the army had time to retire to Zickaw, whither their baggage and artillery also were conveyed in the night. Here Bannier was joined by Guebriant, who had put himself in motion, as soon as he received intelligence of the reduction of Newmark; so that the confederates were now in a condition to make head against the Imperialists. But before any step could be taken for that purpose, Bannier fell sick at Zickaw, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone in his march, and expired at Halberstadt, in the forty-first year of his age, to the infinite loss, and inexpressible regret of his country, as well as of her allies. Beside his knowledge in the art of war, which he had acquired under the great Gustavus, to whom he was scarcely inferior as a commander, he was distinguished by his moderation and humanity toward those whom he had vanquished. He always avoided the effusion of blood, as far as circumstances would admit; and, being robust, patient, indefatigable, and active, he was adored by the soldiery, whose toils and dangers he cheerfully shared¹⁹.

The death of Bannier raised the spirits of the Imperialists, in proportion as it depressed those of the confederates, and the most dangerous consequences were apprehended from it; for his army was composed almost entirely of Germans, who were retained in the service of Sweden solely by the reputation and authority of their general. But the troops, though at first inclined to mutiny, were preserved in obedience by the vigilance of the other Swedish commanders; Wrangel, Koningmark, Witttemberg, and Pfuhl, notwithstanding the solicitations of the emperor, and their own necessitous condition, until the arrival of Torstenson; another general formed under Gustavus, and not unworthy of so

19. Puffend. *Comment. Reb. Suec.* lib. xii.

great a matter. In order to give him more influence over the army, he was furnished with a large sum of money by the treasury of Sweden, and accompanied with a strong reinforcement.

Before this reinforcement arrived, the Swedes and French, under the command of Guebriant, had defeated the imperial army, led by the archduke and Piccolomini, near Wolfenbüttele. Four thousand Imperialists were slain upon the spot, and a great number taken prisoners²⁰. No other event of consequence distinguished the latter part of the campaign, which was chiefly spent in waiting for Torstenson, at an encampment near Stadt; and soon after he assumed the command, the French and Swedish armies separated by order of cardinal Richelieu. Guebriant entered Westphalia, and Torstenson led his troops into Bohemia; where he proposed to winter, and attempt, as soon as the season should permit, to prove himself worthy of the confidence of his country.

Meanwhile a new treaty was concluded between France and Sweden, and the most vigorous resolutions were taken for prosecuting the war. Marechal Guebriant accordingly crossed the Rhine early in the spring, upon a bridge of boats, built at Wesel; marched to Ordinguen, which surrendered at discretion; and understanding that Hasfield was on his march to join Lamboy, another Imperial general, whose quarters were near Kempen, he resolved to prevent their junction, by attacking the latter in his entrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at Ordinguen; advanced toward the enemy; drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the assault. After an obstinate struggle, the Austrian infantry was broken, and the camp forced; and Lamboy, who rallied his troops, and returned to the charge, was surrounded and made prisoner, together with general Merci. Of the whole Imperial army not above six hundred escaped.

A. D. 1642.

²⁰. Barre, tom. ix. Puffend. lib. xlii;

This victory was followed by the reduction of Lintz, Bevert, Berthem, Calter, and Guewenbruck; so that Guebriant saw himself master, in a short time, of almost the whole electorate of Cologne. His next step was to besiege Kempen, which was defended with great gallantry and skill; but a large breach being at length made in the fortifications, the governor, convinced that it would be impossible to sustain an assault, capitulated upon honourable terms²¹.

The defeat of Lamboy, and the rapid success of the French general, did not, however, divert the archduke and Piccolomini, who commanded the Imperialists in Moravia, from marching against Torstenion. They intended to surprise him in his camp; but finding all their attempts and expectations defeated, by the vigilance of the Swedish general, in the true spirit of Italian policy, Piccolomini had recourse to treachery, by which he hoped to earn the reward of valour and military skill. With this view he corrupted one Sekendorf, a Swedish colonel, who promised to admit the Imperialists into the camp by night. Fortunately the design was discovered, and the traitor punished: nor did his employers escape chastisement. The duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who had marched towards Schwents, in order to check the progress of Torstenion, in Silesia, was defeated and mortally wounded; and in that condition was taken prisoner with the greater part of his officers, three thousand of his men being left dead on the field.

Soon after this victory, Torstenion passed the Elbe, with an intention to besiege Leipzig; and having seized two posts, the possession of which might facilitate that enterprize, he ordered general Koningmark to invest the place. But the approach of the Imperialists, under the archduke and Piccolomini, obliged him to convert the siege into a blockade, and make preparations for receiving the enemy. Meanwhile they advanced in such a form as the Swedes were between the

imperial army and the town; and Torstenfon finding himself exposed to two fires, filed off his troops into the plain of Breitenfeld, about three miles distant from Leipzig. The imperial generals, imagining his design was to avoid an action, endeavoured to harrafs his rear; but the Swedish commander, who wished for nothing more than such an opportunity, faced about immediately. A mutual cannonading ensued, and soon after a close engagement. Wittemberg, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, charged the left of the Imperialists with such impetuosity, that it was instantly broken. Their right wing, however, behaved with more firmness; and the Swedish cavalry commanded by Koningmark, was in danger, for a time, of being routed by the emperor's cuirassiers. But the latter were obliged at length to give way.

While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the infantry in the centre fought with inexpressible rage and resolution. At length the Swedish foot, animated by the example of the horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of action, obliged the Imperialists to quit the field, and retreat into a wood, with the loss of their cannon. Torstenfon pursued the left wing as far as Leipzig; Koningmark gave no quarter to the right; and the Austrian infantry being driven from the wood, into which they had retired, were surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces²².

In this battle, which was fought near the same spot that had beheld the glory of the Swedes, under Gustavus, a few years before, the Imperialists lost eight thousand good soldiers; and three hundred officers were found among the slain. The conquerors, who had engaged with very inferior numbers, did not lose above a thousand men. Besides the slaughter of the enemy, they took three thousand pri-

22. Puffend. lib. xiv. Barre, tom. ix.

soners, together with forty-six pieces of cannon, one hundred and sixteen pair of colours, and six hundred waggons²³.

A defeat so total overwhelmed the imperial court with consternation. General Enkenford was ordered to make new levies with all possible expedition: Hasfeld and Wahl were sent for to Vienna; Goltaker and Galtz exerted their utmost diligence to join the archduke and Piccolomini in Bohemia, whither they had retired to re-assemble the wreck of their army. All the troops in the Austrian service were collected to stop the progress of the victorious Torstenfon.

That general had again invested Leipzig, and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place was under the necessity of surrendering, notwithstanding the valour of the garrison, which excited the admiration of the besiegers. Torstenfon was less fortunate in his attempt upon Fridburg, where he understood the enemy had collected large magazines: for although considerable breaches were made in the fortifications, and an assault given, the garrison sustained it with such unshaken resolution, that he was obliged to recall his troops: and while he was making preparations for a final effort, he learned that Piccolomini, at the head of a considerable army, was approaching to the relief of the place. On this intelligence, he ranged his troops in order of battle, and put himself in motion to meet the enemy; but Piccolomini penetrating his design, took a different route, threw supplies into the town, and retired with the utmost expedition. Now despairing of being able to reduce Fridburg, Torstenfon marched into Lusatia, in order to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from Pomerania and Lower Saxony; and Guebriant, the French general, having passed the Maine at Gemund, established quarters of refreshment on the Taubet, and marched toward the Necker²⁴.

While the confederates were thus making progress in Ger-

23. *Id. Ibid.*

24. *Barre, tom. ix. Puffend. lib. xiv.*

many, the arms of France had been equally successful on the side of Spain. A French army had entered Roussillon, and reduced Colima and Perpignan. Meantime the affairs of the kingdom were in the greatest confusion, and Paris itself was in danger. Francisco de Melo, a man of valour and abilities, who had succeeded the cardinal infant in the government of the Low Countries, having suddenly assembled a body of twenty-five thousand men, threatened France with two inroads; routed the count de Guiche, who attempted to oppose him, and would have appeared before the capital, to which he had opened a passage, had he not received a letter from Olivarez, ordering him to withdraw his troops, under pretence that the enterprize was too hazardous. But the true reason for such order was a secret treaty between the Spanish minister and the duke of Orleans; who with the duke of Bouillon, Cinqmars, master of the horse, and M. de Thou, had conspired the ruin of Richelieu, whom they had already brought into discredit with the king.

Fortunately however for the cardinal, whose life was at once in danger from violence and disease, he got intelligence of the treaty with Spain, nearly at the same time that Louis received the news of Guiche's defeat. In the perplexity occasioned by that disaster, the king paid a visit to Richelieu. The cardinal complained of ill usage: Louis confessed his weakness; a reconciliation took place, and the conspirators were arrested. The duke of Orleans was disgraced; Cinqmars and de Thou lost their heads; and the duke of Bouillon, in order to save his life, was obliged to yield up the principality of Sedan to the crown²⁵. Thus victorious over all his enemies, Richelieu, though still on the verge of the grave, entered Paris in a kind of triumph, a breach being made in the walls, in order to admit the superb litter on which he was carried. While on his way, and hardly able to hold the pen, he wrote to the king the following short

²⁵. Batt. Nani, lib. xii.

letter, which is highly expressive of his haughty character :
 “ Your enemies are dead, and your troops in possession of
 “ Perpignan ²⁶ !”

So many losses, the confederates expected, would have disposed the house of Austria sincerely to listen to terms of accommodation ; but as the courts of Vienna and Madrid foresaw that France and Sweden, at such a juncture, would necessarily be high in their demands, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negociations. It was at length, however, agreed to open the conferences for a general peace, in the month of July the year following ; and the preliminaries being published, all the unhappy people who had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of tranquillity, when the death of cardinal Richelieu, and also of his master, Lewis XIII. once more discoloured the scene. A. D. 1643. The Swedes, who were doubtful of the politics of the new administration, began to think of concluding a separate treaty with the emperor. But their fears were soon dispelled by the steady measures of cardinal Mazarine, who shewed himself no unworthy successor of Richelieu, whose plan he pursued with vigour. All the operations of war were concerted with as much judgment as formerly ; supplies of every kind were furnished with equal punctuality : and a young hero sprung up to do honour to France during the minority of Lewis XIV. This hero was the celebrated duke d’Enghien, afterwards honoured with the title of the great Condé. He cut to pieces, in the plains of Rocroi, the famous Walloon and Castilian infantry, with an inferior army, and took Thionville, into which the Spanish general, Francisco de Melo, after his defeat, had thrown a reinforcement of ten thousand men. Nine thousand Spaniards and Walloons are said to have fallen in the battle of Rocroi ²⁷.

²⁶. Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.* *Mem. de Madame Motteville.*

²⁷. *Mem. de Comte Brienne*, tom. ii.

The arms of France were less fortunate in Germany. The duke of Lorraine renounced his alliance with that kingdom, and took upon himself the command of the Bavarian troops; and Guebriant being mortally wounded before Rotweil, which however was reduced, a misunderstanding after his death prevailed among the principal officers of the French army. This was followed by its natural consequence, a relaxation in discipline, the usual forerunner of a defeat. The count de Rantzau, who had succeeded Guebriant in the chief command, marched to the neighbourhood of Duttlingen, in Suabia. There the count de Merci, the Bavarian general, surprised, routed, and took him prisoner, with the greater part of his officers, and about four thousand private men. The remains of the French army retreated to Alsace, where they were happily collected by marefchel Turenne, who was sent thither for that purpose ²⁸.

The eyes of all Europe were now turned towards the negociations at Munster and Osnabrug. The plenipotentiaries named by the emperor were the count d'Aversperg, and the baron de Krane, with Henry duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who was chief of the embassy: France deputed the count d'Avaux and de Servien, counsellor of state; Sweden, Salvius, assisted by a son of the celebrated chanceilor Oxenstiern; and Spain, the marquis de Castel Roderigo and Diego de Saavedra. Deputies were also named by the other European powers interested in the negociations. The Swedish garrison quitted Osnabrug, which, together with Munster, was by the baron de Krane released from the oath that the citizens had taken to the emperor; and the regencies of both cities swore that they would observe an exact neutrality, and protect the persons and effects of the negociators ²⁹.

In the midst of these advances toward peace, Torstenson was ordered by the court of Sweden to carry war into the duchy of Holstein; the regency being incensed against the

28. Id. *ibid.* Barre, tom. ix.

29. Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tom. vi.

king of Denmark, whom they accused of concealing all the hostile intentions of an enemy under the mask of a mediator. He had taken several Swedish vessels in the Sound, and refused to give satisfaction to the regency, which complained of these acts of hostility. It was therefore resolved in a general assembly of the states of Sweden, to make reprisals. That resolution, however, was not publicly known till the moment that Torstenson invaded Holstein. In that duchy he reduced Oldisloe, Kiel, and several other places of importance ³⁰.

Christian IV. alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to Torstenson as a palpable infringement of the treaty lately concluded between Denmark and Sweden. But finding that the Swedish general, instead of paying any regard to such remonstrance, penetrated into Jutland, and made himself master of almost all the towns in that province, his Danish majesty had recourse to the emperor, who ordered Galas to march to his assistance in the depth of winter. The imperialists, though much retarded by the snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, at length appeared on the frontiers of Holstein; where a resolution was taken to starve the Swedes in Jutland, by occupying the defiles between Stockholm and Sleswick. This design, however, was rendered abortive by the vigilance of Torstenson, who marched toward Rendsburg with an intention to give Galas battle, in case he should dispute the passage; and as the Imperialists did not think proper to give him the least molestation, he quitted Holstein, intercepted some of their convoys, and encamped near Ratzburg ³¹.

Meanwhile France finding the general negotiations disturbed by the war between Sweden and Denmark, sent M. de la Thuillerie to Copenhagen, in order to bring about an accommodation. His proposals, however, met with little attention, until the retreat of the Imperialists, and an

30. Puffend. lib. 15. Barre, tom. ix.

31. Id. ibid.

advantage gained by the Swedes over their northern neighbours at sea, made the Danish monarch more tractable. Despairing of being able to obtain fresh succours from the emperor, the haughty and violent Christian now listened to the mediation of France. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Bromsbo, by which Sweden A. D. 1644. restored to Denmark all the towns Torstenfon had taken in Holstein; and Christian, on his part, ceded to Sweden, Jempe, Halland, the island of Gothland, and the citadel and town of Wisbie, with all the isles depending upon it. Beside this treaty, which enabled Sweden to act with all her forces against the house of Austria, Thuillierie concluded an alliance between France and Denmark, by which Christian agreed to yield no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of France, or those of her allies³².

The emperor was not in a condition to prevent the ratification of these treaties. Turenne had retrieved the affairs of France upon the Rhine, which he crossed at Brisac, and advancing with a small army toward the source of the Danube, routed the Imperialists, commanded by the baron de Merci. He afterward attempted the relief of Friburg, which was invested by the Bavarian army, under the count de Merci, brother of the baron; but finding himself too weak to act with vigour against the enemy, he retired, and fortified a camp within a league of the town, whence he had the mortification to see it surrender. Meantime cardinal Mazarine, informed that the French army was very inferior in strength to the Bavarians, ordered the celebrated Lewis de Bourbon, duke d'Enguien, whom I have already had occasion to mention, and who was son to the prince of Condé, to join Turenne with a reinforcement. These two generals attacked the count de Merci near Friburg, with such impetuosity, that, notwithstanding his advantageous situation,

32. Puffend, lib. 15.

which seemed to place him beyond the reach of danger, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men.

This action, which lasted seven hours, was immediately followed by another, in which the Bavarians gained at first some advantage. But the duke d'Enguien rallied his troops, which seemed disposed to quit the field; and boldly marching against the enemy, drove them three times from their entrenchments, which they as often regained; and victory at last remained undecided, as neither party quitted his ground. Merci, however, who had lost one half of his army, resolved to avoid a third shock by a quick retreat. This he effected in good order, notwithstanding all the attempts of the French to break his rear; and resolutely continuing his march, he safely reached the country of Wurtemberg with the remains of his forces, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage, with all the towns situated between the Rhine and the Moselle, from Mentz to Landaw³³.

Nor were France and Sweden the only foreign powers that incommoded the emperor. Mazarine and Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negociations, as well as to furnish employment for Ferdinand, while the Swedes were engaged in the Danish war, had formed an alliance with Ragotki, vaivode of Transylvania; and that prince, with the consent of the grand signior, to whom he was tributary, entered Hungary at the head of thirty thousand men, and took Cassovia. In justification of his conduct he published a manifesto, addressed to the Hungarian nobility, in which he assured them, that his sole view in taking up arms was to defend their liberties and privileges against the ambition of the emperor, who intended to make that elective kingdom hereditary in his family. This manifesto was answered by Ferdinand, who sent a body of veteran troops, under general Goeutz, to expel the Transylvanian prince; and Ragotki's troops being raw and undisciplined, he durst not hazard an

33. Barre, tom. ix.

engagement, though superior in number to the enemy. Other circumstances conspired to hasten his retreat. He received intelligence that the grand vizier, the chief support of his interest at the court of Constantinople, was dead, and that the king of Poland intended to declare war against him. He was eagerly pursued by Goetz: but the country being destitute of provisions, the imperial troops were wasted with famine a fatigue, and afterward totally ruined at the siege of Cassovia, where the vaivode had left five regiments, which defended the place with singular bravery. That defence, and the loss of the Imperialists, inspired Ragotski with fresh courage. He rejected with disdain the terms of peace offered him by Ferdinand; and was of infinite service to Sweden by dividing the forces of the empire, while her troops were employed in Holstein against the king of Denmark³⁴.

Torstenfon, whom we have seen commanding in Holstein, pursued into Lower Saxony, Galas, the imperial general, whose army there experienced a fate similar to that under Goetz in Hungary; it being almost utterly destroyed by famine, fatigue, and the sword of the Swedes. Having now no enemy to oppose him, Torstenfon entered Bohemia, and marched directly toward Prague, in hopes of surprising that city, and taking prisoners the emperor and the archduke Leopold, who had resided there for some time. In this bold attempt, however, he was disappointed. Ferdinand was no sooner apprised of the march of the Swedes, than he ordered all the troops that could be assembled to approach the place of his residence, under Galas, Hasfeld, John de Wert (who had at last obtained his liberty), and the counts Brouay and Montecuculi. But all these forces, commanded
A. D. 1645.
by such able generals, not being sufficient to dissipate his fears, the emperor retired with the archduke to Vienna³⁵.

Meantime the imperial army being completely formed, en-

34. Id. *ibid*.

35. Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x. Barre, tom. ix.

camped between Thabor and Budeweis, at a small distance from the Swedes, and each party watched the motions of the other with equal diligence and address. Here the superior genius of Torstenson was conspicuous. In order to decoy the Imperialists from their advantageous position, he spread a report, that he intended to march into Moravia, and actually took the route to that province; but finding he had gained his point, as the enemy were in motion to follow him, he returned and encamped near Strockwitz. Soon after he passed the Moldaw, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Thabor, whither he was followed by the enemy. Nothing passed, for some days, but slight skirmishes; for although both armies were eager to engage, neither would quit the post it had seized, in order to attack the other. At length, however, Torstenson, trusting to the valour of his troops, resolved to give the Imperialists battle. He accordingly advanced toward their camp, in a threatening posture, about break of day, when a brisk cannonading began; and by seven in the morning, both armies were engaged in close fight, which was continued for the space of four hours with incredible obstinacy. In the beginning of the action, the left wing of the Swedes began to give ground; but being supported in time, the battle was restored, and Torstenson charged the Imperialists with such fury, that their cavalry was broken, and their infantry cut in pieces. General Goetz, and about three thousand men, were left dead on the field; twenty-six pieces of cannon were taken, together with sixty-three pair of colours, and four thousand prisoners, among whom was general Hasfeld, and several other officers of distinction. The pursuit was no less bloody than the battle. Twelve hundred of the imperial infantry were slain in one body, and a great number taken prisoners, together with three thousand horse ³⁶.

Struck with terror by these repeated misfortunes, Ferdi-

36. *Id. ibid.*

nand pressed the elector of Bavaria to assist him with troops; and that prince sent four thousand men to Vienna, excusing himself from furnishing a greater number, as he was obliged to protect his own dominions against the insults of the French, who threatened the Upper Palatinate. Galas, at the same time, collected the broken remains of the imperial army in Bohemia; set on foot new levies; and having formed a respectable body of troops, encamped under the cannon of Pilsen, in order to observe the motions of Torstenson; who, in consequence of his late victory, had reduced Leipsnitz, Pilgran, Iglaw, and several other places. The town of Krembs, Stein, and the fort of Tyrnstein also submitted to the conquerors; so that the Swedes were now masters of the Danube on the side of Moravia: and all the towns in that province surrendered at discretion, except Brinn, which Torstenson besieged, as the reduction of it seemed necessary to facilitate his junction with Ragotski, on which was supposed to depend the fate of Hungary and Austria.

This enterprize occasioned such alarm at the court of Vienna, that the emperor retired to Ratisbon, and the empress and her attendants fled for refuge to Gratz in Stiria. All the most valuable furniture was removed from the capital, the suburbs were pulled down, and the bastions and ramparts repaired. Some old regiments threw themselves into the city; the inhabitants were armed; the magazines filled, and preparations made for supporting a long siege. Torstenson, however, had no thoughts of such an enterprize. He found sufficient employment at Brinn; which by its gallant defence, afforded Ferdinand leisure to put his affairs in some order. The archduke Leopold was declared commander in chief of the imperial forces; and Galas, who served under him, in quality of lieutenant-general, assembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that he might be able to prevent the Swedes from crossing the Danube. Nor was the elector of Bavaria less busy in taking measures to oppose the progress of the French.

General Merci having received intelligence that mareſchal Turenne, after quitting his winter quarters at Spire, had eſtabliſhed his head poſt at Mariendal, and that his troops were diſperſed in the neighbouring towns for the conveniency of ſubſiſtence, reſolved to attack him by ſurpriſe, in hopes of defeating him before he could aſſemble his forces. Extending himſelf, with this view, in the plain of Mariendal, Merci drew up his army in order of battle. He placed his foot in the centre, and his cavalry on the two wings. After cannonading the French for ſome time, he put himſelf at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a ſmall wood that covered their front; a poſt which it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to poſſeſs, before his left wing, commanded by John de Wert, could act to advantage. Turenne at the ſame time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the Imperialiſts, which he broke, and penetrated as far as the ſecond line. But, during theſe efforts, three thouſand French troops, under the command of general Roſe, were routed and diſperſed by the Bavarians; and de Wert, perceiving their confuſion, advanced with his left wing, in order to take Turenne in the rear. Senſible of the riſk he ran of being ſurrounded, the mareſchal ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and retire acroſs the wood; at the other ſide of which being joined by three freſh regiments of foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, that had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view of attacking the enemy, ſhould they paſs the wood. Merci, however, did not think proper to try the experiment: ſo that the French general, having collected his broken troops, retired in the face of the enemy; croſſed the Maine in their deſpite, and reached the frontiers of Heſſe, where he found that he had loſt great part of his infantry, twelve hundred horſe, and his whole baggage³⁷.

Elated with this advantage, the elector of Bavaria made

37, Puffend. lib. xvi. Barre, tom. ix.

very lofty propofals of peace to France; and Mazarine, without regard to them, ſent a reinforcement of eight thouſand men to Turenne, under the conduct of the duke d'Enguien. Theſe two commanders reſolved to bring the Bavarians to a general action. With this view Turenne, whoſe day it was to lead, advanced at the head of his cavalry, to engage the enemy. But they had taken poſt upon a riſing ground, ſo inacceſſible, that it ſeemed hazardous to attack them at ſuch diſadvantage. The duke d'Enguien being afterwards inveſted with the chief command, determined therefore to advance toward the Danube, and was proſecuting his march to Nordlingen, when he received intelligence that the Bavarians were come up with him. He immediately ranged his army in order of battle, upon the ſame plain where the Swedes had ſuffered a melancholy defeat ſoon after the death of Guſtavus; giving the command of the right wing to the mareſchal de Gramont, and that of the left to Turenne. Marſin, an officer of reputation, was placed at the head of the firſt line of infantry; the ſecond, compoſed chiefly of Heſſians, was commanded by major-general Geiſs; and the Sieur de Chabot conducted the corps de reſerve.

The Bavarians were drawn up on an eminence of eaſy aſcent. Their right wing, compoſed ſolely of infantry, was poſted upon the higher ground, and their main body entrenched below. Still lower lay a village, and on their left wing, commanded by John de Wert, ſtood a caſtle, which they had taken care to gariſon. The action was begun by the duke d'Enguien, who ordered Marſin to attack the village; but he being dangerously wounded, and the troops under his command giving way, the French general ſent in his room the marquis de Mouffau with a reinforcement. This body alſo was broken, and would have been utterly deſtroyed, had not the duke in perſon led on the whole French infantry to the aſſiſtance of the marquis. Nor could their
utmoſt

utmost efforts turn the tide of battle, until the count de Merci was slain at the head of his conquering troops. Even after the death of that great captain, all the intrepidity of the duke d'Enguien, who displayed the most heroic valour, could not prevent the destruction of great part of the French infantry. And to increase the misfortunes of the future Condé, the left wing of the Bavarians fell with such fury upon the French cavalry, that they were totally routed, and the mareschal de Gramont made prisoner; while John de Wert, attacking the corps de reserve, defeated Chabot, and penetrated as far as the baggage.

During these disasters, Turenne assailed the right wing of the enemy; and having reached the top of the eminence in good order, a terrible conflict ensued, in which the first line of the Bavarians was broken; but general Gleen advancing with the second, the French were ready to give way in their turn, when the duke d'Enguien came seasonably to the support of his left wing. He obliged the Bavarians to retire, and leave behind them their cannon, which were pointed against the part of their right wing drawn up near the village. Turenne now charged the enemy in flank, and drove them beyond the village, after having taken general Gleen prisoner. Meantime John de Wert, partly informed of what had passed upon the hill, hastened thither with his victorious left wing; but he came too late to retrieve the honour of the day, every thing being already in confusion. All that he could do, therefore, was, to lead off the remains of the Bavarian army to Donawert, whither they escaped under the cover of night, though pursued as far as the banks of the Danube³⁸.

This victory, if such it may be called, was dearly purchased by the French, four thousand of their best troops being left dead upon the spot. Nordlingen and some neigh-

38. Barre, tom. ix. Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x. Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Mazarine*. *Hist. du Prince de Condé*.

bouring places, indeed, opened their gates to the conquerors; but they were soon recovered by the Bavarians, who received a strong reinforcement under the archduke Leopold. Turenne, however, after the departure of the duke d'Enguien, who went to Paris to receive the applause due to his valour, had the honour of closing the campaign with re-establishing the elector of Triers in his dominions. That prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, in consequence of a second treaty with Ferdinand, by which he submitted to the articles of the peace of Prague, and other rigorous conditions. But as he signed this treaty with no other view than to deliver himself from a tedious and grievous imprisonment, he threw himself upon the protection of France, as soon as he was enlarged, and cardinal Mazarine ordered Turenne to effect his restoration. The marshal accordingly invested Triers: the garrison was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his subjects³⁹.

During these transactions, the elector of Saxony, finding himself unable to stop the progress of the Swedes under Koningmark, who had reduced a number of towns in Thuringia and Misnia, had recourse to a negociation, and concluded a truce with that general for six months, as a prelude to a peace with Sweden. This treaty was the more disagreeable to the house of Austria, as it enabled Koningmark, after laying Bohemia under contribution, to form a junction with Torstenson, who had carried his depredations to the very gates of Vienna, in spite of all the efforts of the archduke. The emperor, however, in some degree counterbalanced the defection of the elector of Saxony, by a peace with Ragotski. He acknowledged that prince sovereign of Transilvania, and restored to him certain possessions, in Hungary, which had belonged to his predecessor, Bethlem Gabor⁴⁰.

39. *Id. ibid.*40. *Annal. de l'Emp. tom. ii.*

Torstenſon, after his junction with Koningsmark, propoſed to undertake the ſiege of Prague; but the archduke Leopold being joined by the count de Bouchain, took ſuch effectual meaſures for ſecuring that city, as rendered the attempt impracticable. Chagrined at this diſappointment, and greatly afflicted with the gout, Torſtenſon retired to his own country. He was ſucceeded in the chief command by general Wrangel, who ſupported the reputation of the Swediſh arms, and in conjunction with Turenne ravaged Franconia, Sileſia, and Moravia, laying the country every where under contribution.

In order to ſecure his dominions againſt theſe ravages, the elector of Bavaria withdrew his troops from the ſervice of the emperor, and concluded a ſeparate peace with France. His example was followed by the archbiſhop of Cologne; and the archbiſhop of Mentz and the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt were reduced to the neceſſity of taking the ſame ſtep by the victorious Turenne. He laid waſte their dominions, and ſtruck all Germany with the terror of his arms. Nor were the Swedes inactive. Having gariſoned the towns they poſſeſſed in Weſtphalia and Upper Suabia, they made themſelves maſter of Schweinfurt, which had cut off the communication between theſe two provinces, and again entering Bohemia, reduced Egra in preſence of the imperial army ⁴¹.

The confederates were leſs ſucceſſful in other quarters. Nothing of conſequence had been effected either in Italy or the Low Countries, during the two laſt campaigns, and in Spain the reputation of two celebrated French generals had been tarniſhed. In 1646, the count d'Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, beſieged Lerida. The gariſon was not ſtrong, nor was the place in a ſtate of defence. But Don Antonio de Brito, the governor, had the addreſs to make the French

41. Barre, tom. ix. Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. x. *Hiſt. du Vie de Turenne.*

believe, that his condition was yet more desperate than he found it; so that they did not press the siege so vigorously as they otherwise might, from a persuasion that he would surrender at discretion. Meanwhile the marquis de Legonez, the Spanish general, who knew exactly the state of the garrison, caused a great convoy to be provided. When it was near ready, he advanced towards Lerida, seemingly with an intention to relieve the place; but, after lying some days within sight of the French army, he decamped, as if he had abandoned his design. Having forwarded the convoy, he marched directly back to the town; and appeared unexpectedly, in order of battle, on one side of the French lines; while, on the other, the convoy with a strong reinforcement safely entered the place, during the hurry of the besiegers to receive the enemy. Harcourt therefore found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; a disappointment which chagrined him so much, that he resigned the command, and returned to France, where he was very coldly received by Mazarine ⁴².

The prince of Condé, formerly duke d'Enguien, was now appointed viceroy of Catalonia; the Catalans, as already observed, having put themselves under the protection of France. Elated with past success, he resolved to distinguish the beginning of his administration by the reduction of Lerida, in which his predecessor had failed. Fortunately he found the lines of the count d'Harcourt so little damaged, that they were easily repaired, and the trenches were opened with a flourish of violins. The conduct of Don Antonio de Brito, who was well supplied with every necessary, and had a garrison of three thousand men, was the very reverse of what it had been the year before. He harassed the enemy with continual sallies, and disputed with obstinacy every inch of ground. The French ascribed this change of conduct to his

42. Quincy, *Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.* *Mém. de Madame de Montesquiou.*

being sensible that they had made the attack in the weakest place, and concluded that he would be obliged to surrender as soon as they had made themselves masters of the outworks; but in the midst of these sanguine expectations peculiar to the French nation, the engineers found their progress obstructed by a rock. It was impossible to proceed, it was too late to begin again; the troops were diminished by fatigue, the heats were coming on. The Spanish army, under the marquis d'Aitona, advanced to the relief of the place, and the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege⁴³. The rest of the campaign was spent in fruitless marches and countermarches.

The conclusion of the year 1647 was not more fortunate for the confederates in Germany. The elector of Bavaria was prevailed upon to renounce the alliance he had concluded with France, and reunite him to the emperor, and in consequence of the union of the Bavarian and imperial forces, Wrangel was obliged to abandon Bohemia. After being harrassed by the Austrian general Melander, in a long and difficult march, he took up his winter-quarters in the duchy of Brunswick.

Early in the spring, however, the Swedish general led out his army, with an intention to surprize the enemy in their cantonments; but they were apprised of his design, and had assembled their troops. In order to atone for this failure, Wrangel advanced, in conjunction with Turenne, against the Austrians and Bavarians, at Zusmarhausen, or Zummerhausen, near the Danube. There a furious battle was fought; and the Imperial forces were defeated, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Montecuculi and Wittenberg. These able generals were only able to save the remains of the army, by a masterly retreat to Augsb⁴⁴.

43. Martiniere, *Hist. Gen. d'Espagne*. Quincy, ubi sup.

44. Barre, tom. ix. *Hist. du Vie de Turenne*. Heifs, liv. iii, chap. x.

Picolomini arriving soon after from the Netherlands, assumed the chief command of the Imperial forces in the room of Melander, who was slain. His presence seemed to infuse new spirit into the troops; but he could not prevent the confederates from passing the Lech, and penetrating into Bavaria, where they laid the whole country under contribution, and obliged the elector to quit his capital, and take refuge in Saltzburg.

Nor was the victory at Zummerhausen the only advantage the confederates had gained since the opening of the campaign. The Hessians had defeated the baron Lamboy near Grevemburg, in the duchy of Juliers; and Koningfmark had surprised the new city of Prague. In the mean time Charles Gustavus, count Palatine of Deux Ponts, arriving from Sweden with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, undertook the siege of Old Prague; and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loss of that capital, and of the whole kingdom of Bohemia, resolved in earnest to conclude the so long-demanded peace⁴⁵.

Hitherto the negotiations at Munster and Osnabrug had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war; but the French and Swedes being now decisively victorious, and having no other enemy in Germany but the emperor, all the rest being either subdued or in alliance with them, it only remained for Ferdinand to receive law from those powers. Other circumstances conspired to forward the treaty. Sweden, notwithstanding the great success of its arms, during eighteen years of hostilities; and the young queen, Christina, so distinguished by her love for learning, was desirous of repose, that she might have leisure to pursue her favourite studies. The United Provinces, become jealous of France, had concluded, in 1647, a separate treaty with Spain; in which their independency was not only acknowledged, but the republic

45. Id. *ibid*.

was declared a free and sovereign state, by the only power that had disputed it, at a vast expence of blood and treasure, with an obstinacy to which history affords no parallel, for the term of fourscore years. France, therefore, was left to sustain alone the whole weight of the war against the Spanish branch of the house of Austria; and cardinal Mazarine, her prime minister, being at the same time threatened with an intestine war, became more moderate in his demands at the congress, as well as more sincerely disposed to promote the tranquillity of Germany ⁴⁶.

In consequence of these favourable occurrences and corresponding views, the memorable PEACE of WESTPHALIA was signed at Munster on the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year 1648. As it is a fundamental law of the empire, and the basis of all subsequent treaties, I must make you acquainted, my dear Philip, with the substance of the principal articles of it. In order to satisfy the different powers, the following important stipulations were found necessary; namely, That France shall possess the sovereignty of the three archbishopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the city of Pignerol, Breisach, and its independencies, the territory of Sunnbach, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the right to keep a garrison in Philipsburg; that to Sweden should be granted, besides five millions of crowns, the archbishoprick of Bremen and the bishoprick of Verden secularized, Upper Pomerania, Stettin, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, all to be held as fiefs of the empire, with three votes at the diet; that the elector of Brandenburg shall be reimbursed for the loss of Upper Pomerania, by the cession of the bishoprick of Magdeburg secularized, and by having the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Cambray, and Casan, declared secular principalities, with four votes at the diet; that the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for Wismar, shall have the bishopricks of

46. Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Mazarine*. Puffendorff. Barre. Le Clerc.

Schwerin and Ratsburg, erected, in like manner, into secular principalities; that the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, shall remain with Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and his descendants, as long as they shall produce male issue; but that the Lower Palatinate shall be restored to Charles Lewis, son of the deposed elector, in whose favour shall be established an eighth electorate, to continue till the extinction of the house of Bavaria⁴⁷. All the other princes and states of the empire were re-established in the lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia, in 1619. The republic of Switzerland was declared to be a sovereign state, exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire; and the long-disputed succession of Cleves and Juliers, with the restitution of Lorrain, was referred to arbitration⁴⁸.

The stipulations in regard to religion were no less accurate and comprehensive. The pacification of Passau was confirmed, in its full extent; and it was farther agreed, That the Calvinists shall enjoy the same privileges as the Lutherans; that the Imperial chamber should consist of twenty-four Protestant members, and twenty-six Catholics; that the emperor shall receive six Protestants into his aulic council; and that an equal number of Catholic and Protestant deputies shall be chosen for the diet, except when it is convoked on a cause that concerns one of the two religions; in which case, all the deputies shall be Protestants, if it respects the Protestants; and Catholics, if it relates to the followers of the Catholic faith⁴⁹.

These are the great outlines of the Peace of Westphalia, so essential to the tranquillity of Europe in general, and to that of Germany in particular. War, however, between France and Spain, was continued with various success, until

47. Du Mout. *Corps Diplomat.* tom. vi. Pfeffel, *Abregé Chronol.*

48. Id. *ibid.*

49. Du Mout. *ubi sup.*

the Treaty of the Pyrennes, negotiated in 1659, when Lewis XIV. was married to the infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. as I shall afterward have occasion more particularly to relate. In the mean time we must make a pause.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648, to the
PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

LETTER I.

ENGLAND and IRELAND, *from the Accession of JAMES I. to the
Murder of Sir THOMAS OVERBURY, and the Fall of SOMER-
SET, in 1615.*

IN bringing down the general transactions of Europe to
the peace of Westphalia, when a new epoch
in Modern History commences, I excused myself A. D. 1603.
from carrying the affairs of England lower than the death of
Elizabeth.

This arrangement, my dear Philip, was suggested by the
nature of the subject. The accession of the family of Stuart
to the throne of England forms a memorable æra in the
history of Great Britain. It gave birth to a struggle, between
the king and parliament, that repeatedly threw the whole
island into convulsions, and which was never fully composed,
until the final expulsion of the royal family. To make you

acquainted with the rise and progress of this important struggle, while your mind is disengaged from other objects, and before I again lead you into the great line of European politics, with which it had little connection, that now be my business. By entering upon it before, I should have disjoined the continental story, have withdrawn your attention from matters of no less moment, and yet have been obliged to discontinue the subject, when it became most interesting.

The English throne being left vacant by the death of Elizabeth, who with her last breath had declared, That she wished to be succeeded by her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots, or who in her dying moments had made signs to that purpose, James was immediately proclaimed king of England by the lords of the privy council. He was great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. so that on the failure of the male line of the house of Tudor, his hereditary title remained unquestionable. The crown of England therefore passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, with as much tranquillity as ever it was transferred from father to son. People of all ranks, forgetting their ancient hostilities with Scotland, and their aversion against the dominion of strangers, testified their affection with louder acclamations than were usual at the accession even of their native princes. They foresaw greater advantages resulting, from a perpetual alliance with Scotland, than inconveniencies from submitting to a sovereign of that kingdom. And by this junction of its whole collective force, Great Britain has risen to a degree of power and consequence in Europe, which Scotland and England, destined by their position to form one vigorous monarchy, could never have attained, as separate and hostile kingdoms.

Dazzled with the glory of giving a master to their rich and powerful rivals, and relying on the partiality of their native prince, the Scots expressed no less joy than the English, at this increase of their sovereign's dignity; and as his
presence

presence was necessary in England, where the people were impatient to see their new king, James instantly prepared to leave Edinburgh, and set out for London without delay. In his journey, crowds of his English subjects every where assembled to welcome him: great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the salutations that rebounded from all sides. But James, who wanted that engaging affability by which Elizabeth had captivated the hearts of her people; and who, although social and familiar among his friends and courtiers, could not bear the fatigue of rendering himself agreeable to a mixed multitude; James, who, though far from disliking flattery, was still fonder of ease, unwisely issued a proclamation forbidding such tumultuous resort¹. A disadvantageous comparison between his deportment and that of his illustrious predecessor was the consequence; and if Elizabeth's frugality in conferring honours had formerly been re-pined at, it was now justly esteemed, in consequence of that undistinguishing profusion with which James bestowed them².

The king's liberality, however, in dispensing these honours, it may be presumed, would have excited less censure in England, had they not been shared out, with other advantages, in too unequal proportions to his Scottish courtiers, a numerous train of whom accompanied him to London. Yet it must be owned, in justice to James, whose misfortune it was, through his whole reign, to be more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, that he left all the great offices of state in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of public affairs, both foreign and domestic, for a time, to his English subjects. Among these secretary Cecil, with whom he had held a private correspondence during the latter years

1. Kennet.

2. Within six weeks after his entrance into England, he is said to have bestowed knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven persons, many of whom were utterly unworthy of such honour.

of the reign of Elizabeth, and who had smoothed his way to the throne, was regarded as his prime minister, and chief counsellor. As this correspondence had been carried on with the most profound secrecy, Cecil's favour with the king created general surprise; it being well known to the nation, that his father, lord treasurer Burleigh, had been the principal cause of the tragical death of the queen of Scots, and that he himself had hastened the fate of Essex, the warm friend of the family of Stuart. But the secretary's services had obliterated his crimes; and James was not so devoid of prudence or of gratitude, as to slight the talents of a man, who was able to give stability to that throne which he had helped him to ascend, nor so vindictive as to persecute him from resentment of a father's offences. On the contrary, he loaded him with honours; creating him successively lord Effingham, viscount Cranbourn, and earl of Salisbury. The earl of Southampton and the young earl of Essex were restored to their titles; while sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, Cecil's former associates, were dismissed from their employments³. This disgrace, however, was not so much occasioned by their hostile conduct, and violent opposition against the king's family during the life of Elizabeth, as by an ineffectual attempt which they had made, after her death, to prescribe certain conditions to the declared successor, whom they found they wanted power to set aside, before he should ascend the throne⁴.

James and his new ministers had soon an opportunity of exercising their political sagacity. Ambassadors arrived from almost all the princes and states in Europe, in order to congratulate him on his accession to the crown of England, and to form new treaties and alliances with him, as the head of the two British kingdoms. Among others, Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by Barneveldt, the Pensionary of Holland, represented the United Provinces. But the envoy who most

3. Kennet, p. 663.

4. Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii.

excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the marquis de Rosni, afterward duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France. He proposed, in his master's name, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the Northern crowns, in order to restrain the ambition, and to depress the exorbitant power of the house of Austria⁵. But whether the genius of the British king, naturally timid and pacific, was inadequate to such vast undertakings, or so penetrating as to discover, that the French monarchy, now united in domestic concord, and governed by an able and active prince, was become of itself a sufficient counterpoise to the Austrian greatness, he declined taking any part in the projected league; so that Rosni, obliged to contract his views, could only concert with him the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces. Nor was this an easy matter; for James, before his accession to the throne of England, had entertained many scruples in regard to the revolt in the Low Countries, and had even gone so far, on some occasions, as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels⁶. He was induced, however, after conversing freely with his English ministers and courtiers, to sacrifice to politics his sense of justice. He found the attachment of his new subjects so strong to that republic, and their opinion of a common interest so firmly established, as to make his concurrence necessary: he, therefore, agreed with Rosni to support secretly the States General, in conjunction with France, lest their weakness and despair should bring them again under the enormous dominion of Spain⁷.

While James was taking these salutary steps for securing tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, a conspiracy was hatching to subvert the government, and to place on the throne of England Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin-german, equally descended with him from Henry VII. Watson and

5. *Mem. de Sully.*

6. Winwood, vol. ii.

7. *Mem. de Sully.*

Clunke, two catholic priests, were accused of hatching the plot, and executed for their share in it. But the chief conspirators were lord Cobham and his brother Mr. Broke, lord Grey, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other discarded courtiers. These daring and ambitious spirits meeting frequently together, and believing the whole nation as dissatisfied as themselves, had entertained very criminal projects; and some of them, as appeared on their trial, had even entered into a correspondence with Arenberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to disturb the new settlement of the crown⁸. Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block; Broke was executed, and Raleigh reprieved⁹. He remained, however, in confinement many years.

Soon after surmounting this danger, the king was engaged in a scene of business more suited to his temper, and in which he was highly ambitious of making a figure. Of all the qualities that mark the character of James, he was by none so much distinguished as by the pedantic vanity of being thought to excel in school-learning¹⁰. This vanity was much heightened by the flattery he met with from his English courtiers, but especially those of the ecclesiastical order; and he was eager for an opportunity of displaying his theological

8. *State Trials*, vol. i.

9. Winwood, vol. ii.

10. James's pedantry, which led him to display his learning upon all occasions, only could have drawn upon him contempt as a scholar; for his book, entitled *Discourse on Devils*, which contains certain precepts relative to the art of government, addressed to his son prince Henry, must be allowed, notwithstanding the subsequent alterations and refinements in national taste, not only to be no contemptible performance, but to be equal to the works of most contemporary authors, both in purity of style and justness of composition. If he wrote concerning vintages and apparitions; who in that age, as the sagacious Hume observes, did not admit the reality of these fictitious beings?—If he has composed a commentary on the Revelations, and proved the pope to be Antichrist; may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier? and even to the great Newton? who lived at a time when learning and philosophy were more advanced, than during the reign of James I.

talents, of all others most admired in that age, to the whole body of his new subjects. Such an opportunity was now offered him, by a petition from the Puritans, for reforming certain tenets of the established church. Under pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile the parties, the king called a conference at Hampton-court, and A. D. 1604. gave the petitioners hopes of an impartial debate; though nothing appears to have been farther from his purpose. This matter will require some illustration.

The Puritans, whom I have formerly had occasion to mention¹¹, formed a sect which secretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. They frequented no dissenting congregations, because there were none such in the kingdom; uniformity in religion being, in that age, thought absolutely necessary to the support of government, if not to the very existence of civil society, by men of all ranks and characters. But they maintained, that they themselves were the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law, and that none else deserved to be tolerated. In consequence of this way of thinking, the puritanical clergy frequently refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, and were deprived of their livings, if not otherwise punished, during the reign of Elizabeth; yet so little influence had these severities upon the party, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen signed the petition to the king for the farther reformation of the church¹².

As James had been educated in the religion of the church of Scotland, which was nearly the same with that which the Puritans wanted to establish in England; and as he had written, at a very early period of life, a commentary on the Revelations, in which he had proved the pope to be Anti-christ, and modern Rome the Whore of Babylon in Scripture, these enthusiastic zealots hoped to see the sanctuary

11. Part I. Lett. LXXII.

12. Fuller, book x.

thoroughly purified, and every remaining rag of the whore torn away. The impurities of which they chiefly complained were the episcopal vestments, and certain harmless ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, which the moderation of the church of England had retained at the Reformation; such as the use of the ring in marriage, the cross in baptism, and the reverence of bowing at the name of Jesus. If the king should not utterly abolish these abominations, they flattered themselves, that he would at least abate the rigour of the laws against nonconformity.

But although James, in youth, had strongly imbibed the Calvinistical doctrines, his mind had now taken a contrary bias. The more he knew the puritanical clergy, the less favour he bore them. He had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republican manners; and he had found, that the same lofty pretensions, which dictated their familiar addresses to their Maker, induced them to take still greater freedoms with their earthly sovereign. They had disputed his tenets, and counteracted his commands. Such liberties could hardly have recommended them to any prince, and made them peculiarly obnoxious to James, whose head was filled with lofty notions of kingship and high prerogative, as well as of his theological pre-eminence and ecclesiastical supremacy. Besides, he dreaded the popularity which the puritans had acquired in both kingdoms; and being much inclined himself to mirth, and wine, and sports of all kinds, he apprehended the censure of their austerity, on account of his free and disengaged manner of life. Thus averse, from temper as well as policy, against this rigorous sect, James was determined to prevent, as far as possible, its farther growth in England; and even to introduce, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, the English liturgy into Scotland, in order to soften the manners of the people.

A judge so prejudiced could not possibly be just. The Puritans accordingly complained, and with reason, of the
unfair

unfair management of the dispute at the conference. From arbiter, the king turned principal disputant, and frequently repeated the episcopal maxim: "No Bishop, no King!" The bishops and other courtiers, in their turn, were very liberal in their applause of the royal theologian. "I have often heard that the royalty and priesthood were united," said Chancellor Egerton, "but never saw it verified till now." And Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, "that he verily believed the king spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit¹³!" Little wonder, after so much flattery from the church and its adherents, that the Puritans were enjoined by the king to conform. They obtained, however, a few alterations in the liturgy; and pleaded hard for the revival of certain assemblies, which they called *prophesyings*, and which had been suppressed by Elizabeth, as dangerous to the state. This demand roused all James's choler; and he delivered himself in a speech, which distinctly shews the political considerations that determined him in his choice of religious parties. "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery," replied he, "it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council: therefore I reiterate my former speech; *le Roi s'avisera*. Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grow pursie and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you; for that government will keep me in wind, and give me work enough¹⁴."

The assembly in which the king next displayed his learning and eloquence, was of a very different complexion. The meeting of the great council of the nation had hitherto been delayed from a dread of the plague, which had lately broke out in London, and there raged to such a degree, that above thirty thousand persons are supposed to have died of it, al-

13. Kennet, p. 665.

14. Fuller's *Ecclesiastical History*.

though the city and suburbs did not then contain two hundred thousand inhabitants. At length, however, March 19. the plague subsided, and the parliament was convened. The speech which James made on that occasion fully displays his character. Though by no means deficient either in style or matter, it wants that majestic brevity and reserve, which becomes a king in addressing his subjects from the throne. "Shall I ever," said he, "may can I ever be
 "able, or rather so unable, in memory, as to forget your
 "unexpected readiness and alacrity—your ever memorable
 "resolution, and the most wonderful conjunction and harmony of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as
 "your undoubted and lawful king and governour? or shall
 "it ever be blotted out of mind, how at my first entrance
 "into this kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran,
 "may rather flew to meet me? their eyes flaming nothing
 "but sparkles of affection, their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy; their hands, feet, and
 "all the rest of their members, in their gestures discovering
 "a passionate longing to meet their new sovereign!" He next expatiated on the manifold blessings which the English had received in his person; and concluded with observing, that the measure of their happiness would be full, if England and Scotland were united in one kingdom. "I am the
 "husband," added he, "and the whole island is my lawful wife; and I hope no one will be so unreasonable as
 "to think, that a Christian king under the gospel, can be a
 "polygamist, and the husband of two wives¹⁵."

The following words, in a letter from James to the parliament, on the same subject, is more to the purpose. "It
 "is in you now," says he, "to make the choice—to procure prosperity and increase of greatness to me and mine,
 "you and yours; and by the away-taking of that partition-wall, which already, by God's providence, in my blood is

“rent asunder, to establish my throne and your body politic in a perpetual and flourishing peace.” This was indeed an important and desirable object, and so much was James’s heart set upon effectually removing all division between the two kingdoms, and so sure did he think himself of accomplishing his aim, that he assumed the title of king of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew’s cross with St. George’s; and, in order to give a general idea of the peaceful advantages of such an union, the iron doors of the frontier towns were converted into plough-shares¹⁶. But the minds of men were not yet ripe for that salutary measure. The remembrance of former hostilities was too recent to admit of a cordial friendship: the animosity between the two nations could only be allayed by time. The complaisance of the parliament to the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union, without any power of making advances towards its final establishment¹⁷.

The commons discovered more judgment of national interest, in some other points in which they opposed the crown; and fully shewed, that a bold spirit of freedom, if not a liberal manner of thinking, was become general among them. It had been usual during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as in more early periods of the English government, for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority, of issuing new writs for supplying the places of such members as he judged incapable of attending on account of their ill state of health, or any other impediment¹⁸. This dangerous prerogative James ventured to exercise in the case of Sir Francis Goodwin. The chancellor declared his seat vacated, and issued a writ for a new election. But the com-

16. Rapin, *Hist. Eng.*

17. *Journals of the House of Commons*, June 7, 1604.

18. *Journ.* January 19, and March 18, 1580.

mons, whose eyes were now opened, saw the pernicious consequences of such a power, and asserted their right of judging solely in their own elections and returns. "By this course," said a member, "a chancellor may call a parliament consisting of what persons he pleases. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this plain question, whether the chancery or the parliament ought to have authority¹⁹?" The king was obliged to yield the point; and that right, so essential to public liberty, has ever since been regarded as a privilege inherent in the house of commons, though at that time rendered doubtful through the negligence of former parliaments.

Nor did the spirit and judgment of the commons appear only in their vigorous exertions in defence of their own privileges: they extended their attention to the commercial part of the nation, and endeavoured, though at that time in vain, to free trade from those shackles which the ill-judged policy of Elizabeth had imposed upon it²⁰. James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted by that princess, and which fettered every species of domestic industry; but the exclusive companies still remained, another species of monopolies, by which almost all foreign trade was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce sacrificed to a temporary advantage to the crown. The commons also attempted to free the landed interest from the burden of wardships, and the body of the people from the oppression of purveyance²¹. It will therefore be proper here to give some account of these grievous remains of the feudal government.

19. *Journ.* March 30, 1604.

20. *Journ.* May 21, 1604.

21. *Journ.* April 30, and June 1, 1604.

The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could, at pleasure, take provisions for the king's household, whithersoever he travelled, from all the neighbouring counties, and make use of the horses and carriages of the farmers. The price of these provisions and services was fixed and stated; but the payment of the money was often distant and uncertain, and the rates were always much inferior to the usual market price: so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a heavy burden, and being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. Elizabeth made use of it to victual her navy during the first years of her reign ²². Wardship, though the most regular and legal of all impositions by prerogative, was also an humiliating badge of slavery, and oppressive to all the considerable families among the nobility and gentry. When an estate devolved to a female, the king would oblige her to marry whom he pleased; and whether the heir was male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profits of the estate during the minority ²². These impositions had been often complained of; and the commons now proposed to compound with the king for them, by a secure and independent revenue. The benefit which the crown reaped from wardship and purveyance was accordingly estimated; but, after some debates in the lower house, and a conference with the lords on the subject, it was found to contain more difficulties than could at that time be easily surmounted, and therefore no farther progress was made in the business.

Soon after the rising of parliament, a treaty of peace, which had been some time in agitation, was finally concluded with Spain. And although the war between Philip II. and Elizabeth appears to have been continued from personal animosity rather than any contrariety of politi-

Aug. 18.

²². Hume. Camden.

²³. Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. v.

cal interests between their subjects, this treaty was generally disliked by the English nation; as it checked the spirit of enterprize, so prevalent in that age, and contained some articles which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth. But these articles, so far at least as they regarded supplies, were never executed by James; who had by a secret article, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the United Provinces ²⁴.

During this season of peace and tranquillity was brought to light one of the most diabolical plots of which
 A. D. 1605. there is any record in the history of mankind. The conspiracy to which I allude is the GUNPOWDER TREASON. A scheme so infernally dark will require some elucidation.

The Roman Catholics in general were much disappointed, and even exasperated, by the king's conduct in religious matters. He was not only the son of the unfortunate Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause; but, in order to quiet opposition, and make his accession to the throne of England more easy, he had given them hopes that he would tolerate their religion. They therefore expected great favour and indulgence under his government. But they soon discovered their mistake; and, equally surprised and enraged, when they found James had resolved to execute the rigorous laws enacted against them, they determined on vengeance. Some of the most zealous of the party, under the direction of Garnet the superior of the Jesuits in England, conspired to exterminate, at one blow, the most powerful of their enemies in this kingdom; and in consequence of that blow, to re-establish the catholic faith. Their conspiracy had for its object the destruction of the king and parliament. For this purpose, they lodged thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a vault beneath the House of

Lords, usually let as a coal-cellar, and which had been hired by Percy, a near relation of the family of Northumberland, and one of the original conspirators. The time fixed for the execution of the plot, was the fifth of November, the day appointed for the meeting of the parliament; when the king, queen, and prince of Wales were expected to be in the house, together with the principal nobility and gentry. The rest of the royal family were to be seized, and all dispatched, except the princess Elizabeth, James's youngest daughter, yet an infant, who was to be raised to the throne, under the care of a catholic protector²⁵.

The destined day at length drew nigh, and the conspirators were filled with the strongest assurance of success. Nor without reason; for although the horrid secret had been communicated to above twenty persons, no remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had induced any one accomplice, after more than twelve months, either to abandon the conspiracy, or to make a discovery of it. But the holy fury by which they were actuated, though it had extinguished in their breasts every generous sentiment, and every selfish motive, yet left them susceptible to those bigotted partialities, by which it was inspired, and which fortunately saved the nation. A short time before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic nobleman, whose father, lord Morley, had been a great sufferer during the reign of Elizabeth, on account of his attachment to popery, received the following letter:

“ My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends,
“ I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to
“ shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and
“ man have resolved to punish the wickedness of this time.
“ And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire
“ yourself into your country, where you may expect the

25. *Hist. of the Gunpowder Treason.* See also *State Trials*, vol. i.

“ event in safety : for, though there be no appearance of
 “ any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this
 “ parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them.
 “ This council is not to be contemned ; because it may do
 “ you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is
 “ past as soon as you have burned the letter : and I hope
 “ God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to
 “ whose holy protection I commend you ²⁶.”

Though Montague was inclined to think this a foolish attempt to expose him to ridicule, by frightening him from attending his duty in parliament, he judged it safest to carry the letter to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Salisbury either did or pretended to think it a light matter ; so that all farther inquiry was dropt, till the king, who had been for some time at Royston, returned to town. To the timid sagacity of James, the matter appeared in a more important point of view. From the serious and earnest style of the letter, he conjectured, that it intimated some dark and dangerous design against the state ; and many particular expressions in it, such as *great*, *fudden*, and *terrible blow*, yet the *authors concealed*, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder. It was, therefore, thought proper to inspect all the vaults below the two houses of parliament. This inspection, however, was purposely delayed till the day before the meeting of the great council of the nation ; when, on searching the vaults beneath the House of Lords, the gunpowder was discovered, though concealed under great piles of wood and faggots ; and Guido Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Percy's servant, was seized and carried to the Tower.

This man had been sent for from Flanders, on account of his determined courage, and known zeal in the catholic cause. He was accordingly entrusted with the most trying

26. *King James's Works*, p. 227.

part in the enterprize. The matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were found in his pocket. He at first behaved with great insolence and obstinacy; not only refusing to discover his accomplices, but expressing the utmost regret, that he had lost the precious opportunity of at least sweetening his death, by taking vengeance on his and God's enemies²⁷. But after some days confinement and solitude, his courage failed him on being shewn the rack, and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators. Several of them were men of ancient family, independent fortune, and unspotted character; instigated alone to so great a crime by a fanatical zeal, which led them to believe that they were serving their Maker, while they were contriving the ruin of their country, and the destruction of their species.

Such of the conspirators as were in London, on hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire; where Sir Everard Digby, one of their associates, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was then at lord Harrington's in that county. They failed in their attempt to get hold of the princess; the county rose upon them; and they were all taken and executed except three, who fell a sacrifice to their desperate valour; namely, Wright, a daring fanatic, Catesby, the original conspirator, and Percy his first and most active associate²⁸.

After escaping this danger, James seems to have enjoyed a kind of temporary popularity, even among his English subjects. If the Puritans were offended at his lenity toward the Catholics, against whom he exercised no new severities, the more moderate and intelligent part of the nation considered that lenity as truly magnanimous; and all men were become sensible, that the king could not possibly be the patron of a religion which had aimed so tremendous a blow at his life and throne. His love of peace was favour-

27. Winwood, vol. ii.

28. K. James, p. 231. Winwood, vol. ii. *State Trials*, vol. i.

able to commerce, which flourished under his reign; and it procured him leisure, notwithstanding his natural indolence of temper, to attend to the disordered state of Ireland.

Elizabeth had lived to see the final subjection of that island. But a difficult task still remained; to civilize the barbarous inhabitants; to reconcile them to laws and industry; and by these means, to render the conquest durable, and useful to the crown of England. The first step that

A. D. 1612. James took in regard to this important business, which he considered as his master-piece in politics, was to abolish the Irish customs that supplied the place of laws; and which were calculated, as will appear by a few examples, to keep the people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder. Their chieftains, whose authority was absolute, were not hereditary but elective; or, more properly speaking, were established by force and violence; and although certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit arose from exactions, dues, assessments, which were levied at pleasure, and for which there was no fixed law²⁹.

In consequence of the Brehon law or custom, every crime, how enormous soever, was punished in Ireland, not with death, but by a fine, or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Even murder itself, as among our Saxon ancestors, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had affixed to him a certain rate or value, which if any one was willing to pay, he need not fear assassinating whatever man he disliked. This rate was called his *Eric*. Accordingly when Sir William Fitzwilliams, while lord deputy, told the chieftain Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, which had been made a county a little before, and subjected to the English laws; "Your sheriff," replied Maguire, "shall be welcome to me: but let me know beforehand, his *eric*, or the price of his

29. Sir John Davis, p. 167.

“ head, that, if any of my people should cut it off, I may
 “ levy the money upon the county ³⁰. *Annals of Ireland* 117.

After abolishing these, and other pernicious Irish customs, and substituting English laws in their stead, James proceeded to govern the natives by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay punctually transmitted from England, in order to prevent the soldiers from subsisting upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. Circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. For the relief of the common people, the value of the dues which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals, was estimated at a fixed sum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties ³¹.

The beneficial effects of these regulations were soon visible, especially in the province of Ulster; which having wholly fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting colonies in that fertile territory. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres; tenants were brought from England and Scotland; the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country; husbandry and the mechanical arts were taught them; a fixed habitation was secured for them, and every irregularity repressed. By these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province in Ireland, soon became the most civilized and best cultivated part of the island ³².

But whatever domestic advantages might result from James's pacific disposition, it gradually lost him the affections of his people, as it made him avoid war by negotiations and concessions beneath the dignity of an English monarch. It sunk the national consequence, and perhaps the

30. *Id.* *ibid.*

31. Sir John Davis, p. 273.

32. *Id.* p. 280.

national spirit; and his excessive love of carousals and hunting, of public spectacles and unavailing speculations, which left him no time for public business, at last divested his political character of all claim to respect, and rendered him equally contemptible at home and abroad. This contempt was increased by a disadvantageous comparison between the king and the prince of Wales.

Though youth and royal birth, embellished by the flattering rays of hope, prepossessed men strongly in favour of an heir apparent to the crown, Henry, James's eldest son, independent of such circumstances, seems to have possessed great and real merit. Although he had now almost reached his eighteenth year, neither the illusions of passion nor of rank had ever seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition alone engaged his heart, and occupied his mind. Had he lived to come to the throne, he might probably have promoted the glory more than the happiness of his people, his disposition being strongly turned to war. Of this we have a remarkable instance. When the French ambassador took leave of him, and asked his commands for France, he found him employed in the exercise of the pike: "Tell your king," said Henry, "in what occupation you left me engaged³³." His death, which was sudden, diffused, throughout the nation, the deepest sorrow, and violent reports were propagated that he had been taken off by poison. The physicians, however, on opening his body, found no symptoms to justify such an opinion³⁴.

But James had one weakness, which drew on him more odium than either his pedantry, pusillanimity, or extravagant love of amusement; namely, an insatuated attachment to young and worthless favourites. This passion appears so much the more ludicrous, though less detestable, that it does not seem to have contained any thing criminal in it³⁵.

The

33. *Dip. de la Podovic.*

34. Kennet. Coke. Welwood.

35. The interest which James took in the amours of his favourites, and his
attention

The first and most odious of these favourites, was Robert Carr, a young gentleman of a good family in Scotland. When about twenty years of age, he arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. A handsome person, an easy manner, and a graceful air, were his chief accomplishments; and these were sufficient to recommend him to James, who, through his whole life, was too liable to be captivated with exterior qualities. Lord Hay, a Scottish nobleman, who was well acquainted with this weakness in his sovereign, and meant to take advantage of it, assigned to Carr, at a tournament, the office of presenting the king his buckler and device. But, as the future favourite was advancing for that purpose, his ungovernable horse threw him, and his leg was broke by the fall.

Equally struck with this incident, and with the beauty and simplicity of the youth, whom he had never seen before, James approached him with sentiments of the softest compassion; ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be attended by the most skilful surgeons: and he himself paid him frequent visits during his confinement. The more ignorant he found him, the stronger his attachment became. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he flattered himself, that he should be able to form a minister whose political sagacity would astonish the world, while he surpassed all his former courtiers in personal and literary accomplishments. In consequence of this partial fondness, interwoven with selfish vanity, the king soon knighted his favourite; created him viscount Rochester, honoured him with the Garter, brought him into the privy council, and without assigning him any particular office, gave him the supreme direction of his affairs³⁶.

attention to the cultivation of their minds, ought to exempt him from all suspicion of an unnatural crime, notwithstanding the influence which personal beauty seems to have had in the choice of them. He appears to have been desirous of a minister of his own forming, who would be entirely subservient to his will, as being his creature in a double sense, and who might also prove an easy and disengaged companion for his mirthful hours.

The minion, however, was not so much elated by his sudden elevation, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the advice of a friend, and found a judicious and sincere counsellor in Sir Thomas Overbury; by whose means he enjoyed for a time, what is very rare, the highest favour of the prince, without being hated by the people. Nothing, in a word, seemed wanting to complete his happiness but a kind mistress; and such a one soon presented herself, in lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, similar to himself in weakness of understanding, and equal in personal attractions.

This lady, when but thirteen years of age, had unfortunately been married to the earl of Essex, from the king's too eager desire of uniting the families of Howard and Devereux; and as her husband was only fourteen, it was thought proper to send him on his travels, till they should arrive at the age of puberty. But such separations are always dangerous, whatever may be the age of the parties. Marriage awakens certain ideas in the female mind, which are best composed in the arms of a husband. Of this truth, Essex had melancholy experience. Lady Frances, during his absence, had opened her heart to the attentments of love; and although on his return to England, after travelling four years, he was pleased to find his countess in all the bloom of youth and beauty, he had the mortification to discover, that her affections were totally alienated from him. Though forced by her parents to share his bed, she persisted in denying him the dues of marriage. At length disgusted by such conduct, he separated himself from her, and left her to pursue her own inclinations. This was what she wanted. The high fortune and splendid accomplishments of the favourite had taken entire possession of her soul: and she thought that, so long as she refused to consummate her marriage with Essex, she could never be deemed his wife; consequently, that a separation and divorce might still open the way to a new marriage with her beloved Rochester. He himself was of the same opinion, and also desirous of such an union. Para-

doxical as it may seem, though the violence of their passion was such, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, and though they had frequent opportunity of intercourse, they yet found themselves unhappy, because the tie between them was not indissoluble, and seem both to have been alike impatient to crown their attachment with the sanction of the church. A divorce was accordingly procured, through the influence of the king, and the co-operation of Essex; and, in order to preserve the countess from losing any rank by her new marriage, Rochester was created earl of Somerset ³⁷.

This amour and its consequences afford an awful lesson on the fatal effects of licentious love; but at the same time prove, that vice is less dangerous than folly in the intercourse of the sexes, when connected with the intrigues of a court. Though Sir Thomas Overbury, without any scruple, had encouraged his friend's passion for the countess of Essex, while he considered it merely as an affair of gallantry, his prudence was alarmed at the idea of marriage. And he represented to Rochester, not only how invidious and difficult an undertaking it would prove to get her divorced from her husband, but how shameful it would be to take to his own bed a profligate woman; who, although married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and bestow her favours on the object of a capricious and momentary impulse; on a lover whom she must suppose would desert her on the first variable gust of loose desire.

Rochester was so weak as to reveal this conversation to the countess, and so base as to enter into her vindictive views; to swear vengeance against his friend, for the strongest instance he could receive of his fidelity. Some contrivance was necessary for the execution of their diabolical scheme. Overbury's conduct was misrepresented to the king, who granted a warrant for committing him to the Tower; where

³⁷ *History of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Overbury* vol. i.

³⁸ 37. Franklin, Kenax, State Trials, vol. i.

he lay till the divorce was procured, and Rochester's marriage with the countess celebrated. Nor did this success, or the misery of the prisoner, who was debarred the sight even of his nearest relations, satisfy the vengeance of that violent woman. She engaged her husband and her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking
 A. D. 1615. off Overbury by poison³⁸; and they, in conjunction with Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, at length effected their cruel purpose.

Though the precipitation with which Overbury's funeral was hurried over, immediately bred a strong suspicion of the cause of his death, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years after; when it was discovered by means of an apothecary's servant, who had been employed in making up the poisons, and the whole labyrinth of guilt distinctly traced to its source³⁹.

But although Somerset had so long escaped the inquiry of justice, he had not escaped the scrutiny of conscience, which continually pointed to him his murdered friend; and even within the circle of a court, amid the blandishments of flattery and of love, struck him with the representation of his secret enormity, and diffused over his mind a deep melancholy, which was neither to be dispelled by the smiles of beauty, nor the rays of royal favour. The graces of his person gradually disappeared, and his gaiety and politeness were lost in sullenness and silence.

The king, whose affections had been caught by these superficial accomplishments, finding his favourite no longer contribute to his amusement, and unable to account for so remarkable a change, more readily listened to the accusations brought against him. A rigorous inquiry was ordered; and Somerset and his countess were found guilty, but pardoned through the indiscreet lenity of James. They languished out their remaining years, which were many and miserable, in

³⁸ *State Trials*, vol. i.

³⁹ *Id. ibid.*

infamy and obscurity; alike hating, and hated by each other⁴⁰. Sir Jervis Elvis, and the inferior criminals, suffered the punishment due to their guilt.

40. Kennet.

LETTER II.

ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, *from the Rise of BUCKINGHAM to the Death of JAMES I. in 1625.*

THE fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for a new favourite to rise at once to the highest honours. George Villiers, an English gentleman, of an engaging figure, and in all the bloom of twenty-one, had already attracted the eye of James; and, at the intercession of the queen, had been appointed cup-bearer¹. This office, so happily suited to youth and beauty, but which, when they become the cause of peculiar favour, revives in the mind certain Grecian allusions, might well have contented Villiers, and have attached him to the king's person; nor would such a choice have been censured, except by the cynically severe². But the profuse bounty of James induced him, in the course of a few years, contrary to all the rules of prudence and politics, to create his minion viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the Garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the King's Bench, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England³.

1. Rushworth, vol. i.

2. James, who affected sagacity and design in his most trifling concerns. Inferred, we are told, on the ceremony of the queen's soliciting this office for Villiers, as an apology to the world for his sudden predilection in favour of that young gentleman. Coke, p. 46.

3. Franklin, p. 30. Clarendon, vol. i.

This rapid advancement of Villiers, which rendered him for ever rash and insolent, involved the king in new necessities, in order to supply the extravagance of his minion. A price had been already affixed to every rank of nobility, and the title of Baronet invented, and currently sold for one thousand pounds, to supply the provision of Somerset⁴. Some new expedient must now be suggested; and one very unpopular, though certainly less disgraceful than the former, was embraced: the cautionary towns were delivered up to the Dutch for a sum of money. These towns, as I have formerly had occasion to notice⁵, were the Brill, Flushing, and Ramakins; three important places, which Elizabeth had got consigned into her hands by the United Provinces, on entering into war with Spain, as a security for the repayment of the money which she might disburse on their account. Part of the debt, which at one time amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, was already discharged; and the remainder, after making an allowance for the annual expence of the garrisons, was agreed to be paid on the surrender of the fortresses⁶. This seems to have been all that impartial justice could demand, yet the English nation was highly dissatisfied with the transaction; and it must be owned, that a politic prince would have been slow in relinquishing possessions on whatever conditions obtained, which enabled him to hold in a degree of subjection so considerable a neighbouring state as the republic of Holland.

4. Franklin p. 11.

5. Part I. Let. LXIX.

6. Winwood, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. i. Mrs. Macaulay thinks Elizabeth acted very ungenerously in demanding any thing from the Dutch for the assistance she lent them: "It ought by all the obligations of virtue, to have been a free gift." (*Hist. Eng.* vol. 1.) That the English queen took advantage of the necessities of the infant republic, to obtain possession of the cautionary towns, is certain; and the Dutch, now become more opulent, took advantage of James's necessities to get them back again. Justice and generosity were in both nations in this transaction between nations, entirely out of the question.

The next measure in which James engaged rendered him as unpopular in Scotland as he was already in England. It was an attempt to establish a conformity in worship and discipline between the churches of the two kingdoms; a project which he had long held in contemplation, and toward the completion of which he had taken some introductory steps. But the principal part of the business was reserved till the king should pay a visit to his native country. Such a journey he now undertook. This naturally leads us to consider the affairs of Scotland.

It might have been readily foreseen by the Scots, when the crown of England devolved upon James, that the independency of their kingdom, for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would thenceforth be lost; and that, if both kingdoms persevered in maintaining separate laws and parliaments, the weaker must feel its inferiority more sensibly than if it had been subdued by force of arms. But this idea did not generally occur to the Scottish nobles, formerly so jealous of the power as well as of the prerogatives of their princes; and as James was daily giving new proofs of his friendship and partiality to his countrymen, by loading them with riches and honours, the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power, in taming their fierce and independent spirits. The will of their sovereign became the supreme law in Scotland. Meanwhile the nobles, left in full possession of their feudal jurisdiction over their own vassals, exhausting their fortunes by the expence of frequent attendance upon the English court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people; who durst hardly utter complaints, which they knew would never reach the ear of their sovereign, or be rendered too feeble to move him to grant them redress⁷. Thus subjected at once to the

7. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii. Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. vi.

absolute will of a monarch, and to the oppressive jurisdiction of an aristocracy, Scotland suffered all the miseries peculiar to both these forms of government. Its kings were despots, its nobles were slaves and tyrants, and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both^s.

There was one privilege, however, which the Scottish nobility in general, and the great body of the people, were equally zealous in protecting against the encroachments of the crown; namely, the independency of their church or kirk. The cause of this zeal deserves to be traced.

Divines are divided in regard to the government of the primitive church. It appears, however, to have been that of the most perfect equality among the Christian teachers, who were distinguished by the name of Presbyters; an appellation expressive of their gravity and wisdom, as well as of their age. But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate. Soon made sensible of this by experience, the primitive Christians were induced to chuse one of the wisest and most holy among their Presbyters, to execute the duties of an ecclesiastical governor; and, in order to avoid the trouble and confusion of annual or occasional elections, his office continued during life, unless in cases of degradation, on account of irregularity of conduct. His jurisdiction consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the church; in the superintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety; in the consecration of Christian teachers, to whom the ecclesiastical governor or *bishop* assigned their respective functions; in the management of the public funds, and in the determination of

8. Before the accession of James I. to the throne of England, the feudal aristocracy subsisted in full force in Scotland. Then the vassals both of the king and of the nobles, from mutual jealousy, were courted and caressed by their superiors, whose power and importance depended on their attachment and fidelity. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.

all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose to the Heathen world⁹. Hence the origin of the episcopal hierarchy, which rose to such an enormous height under the Christian emperors and Roman pontiffs.

When the enormities of the church of Rome, by rousing the indignation of the enlightened part of mankind, had called forth the spirit of reformation, that abhorrence excited by the vices of the clergy was soon transferred to their persons; and thence, by no violent transition, to the offices which they enjoyed. It may therefore be presumed, that the same holy fervour which abolished the doctrines of the Romish church, would also have overturned its ecclesiastical government, in every country where the Reformation was received, unless restrained by the civil power. In England, in great part of Germany, and in the Northern kingdoms, such restraint was imposed on it by the policy of their princes; so that the ancient episcopal jurisdiction, under a few limitations, was retained in the churches of those countries. But in Switzerland and the Netherlands, where the nature of the government allowed full scope to the spirit of reformation, all pre-eminence of rank in the church was destroyed, and an ecclesiastical government established, more suitable to the genius of a republican policy, and to the ideas of the reformers. This system, which has since been called *Presbyterian*, was formed upon the model of the primitive church.

It ought, however, to be remarked, that the genius of the reformers, as well as the spirit of the Reformation and the civil polity, had a share in the establishment of the Presbyterian system. Zuinglius and Calvin, the apostles of Swit-

9. See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, cent. i. ii. and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, lib. vii. et. seq. A bishop, during the first and second centuries, was only a president in a council of presbyters, and the head of one Christian assembly; and whenever the episcopal chair became vacant, a new president was chosen from among the Presbyters, by the suffrage of the whole congregation. Mosheim, ubi supra.

zerland, were men of a more austere turn of mind than Luther, whose doctrines were generally embraced in England, Germany, and the North of Europe, where episcopacy still prevails. The church of Geneva, formed under the eye of Calvin, and by his direction, was esteemed the most perfect model of Presbyterian government; and Knox, the apostle of Scotland, who, during his residence in that city, had studied and admired it, warmly recommended it to the imitation of his countrymen. The Scottish converts, filled with the most violent aversion against popery, and being under no apprehensions from the civil power, which the rage of reformation had humbled, with ardour adopted a system so admirably suited to their predominant passion¹⁰. Its effects on their minds were truly astonishing, if not altogether preternatural.

A mode of worship, the most naked and simple imaginable, which, borrowing nothing from the senses, leaves the mind to repose itself entirely on the contemplation of the divine essence, was soon observed to produce great commotions in the breast, and in some instances to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. Straining for those extatic raptures, the supposed operations of that divine spirit by which they imagined themselves to be animated; reaching them by short glances, and sinking again under the weakness of humanity, the first Presbyterians in Scotland were so much occupied in this mental exercise, that they not only rejected the aid of all exterior pomp and ceremony, but fled from every cheerful amusement, and beheld with horror the approach of corporeal delight¹¹.

It was this gloomy fanaticism, which had by degrees infected all ranks of men, and introduced a sullen, obstinate spirit into the people, that chiefly induced James to think of extending to Scotland the more moderate and cheerful religion of the church of England. He had early experienced

10. See Part I. Let. 55.

11. Keith, Knox.

the insolence of the Presbyterian clergy; who, under the appearance of poverty and sanctity, and a zeal for the glory of God, and the safety and purity of the kirk, had concealed the most dangerous censorial and inquisitorial powers, which they sometimes exercised with all the arrogance of a Roman consistory.

In 1596, when James, by the advice of a convention of estates, had granted permission to Huntley, Errol, and other catholic noblemen, who had been banished the realm, to return to their own houses, on giving security for their peaceable and dutiful behaviour, a committee of the general assembly of the kirk had the audacity to write circular letters to all the Presbyteries in Scotland, commanding them to publish in all their pulpits, an act of excommunication against the popish lords, and enjoining them to lay all those who were *suspected* of favouring popery under the *same censure* by a *summary sentence*, and *without observing* the *usual formalities of trial* ¹²! On this occasion one of the Presbyterian ministers declared from the pulpit, that the king, in permitting the popish lords to return, had discovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the court ¹³! Another affirmed, in the principal church of the capital, that the king was possessed of a devil, and that his subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand ¹⁴!

In consequence of these inflammatory speeches and audacious proceedings, the citizens of Edinburgh rose, and surrounding the house in which the Court of Session was sitting, and where the king happened to be present, demanded some of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. On his refusal, some called, "Bring out the wicked Haman!" while others cried, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" And James was for

12. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.

13. Id. *ibid.*

14. Spotswood.

some time a prisoner in the heart of his own capital, and at the mercy of the enraged populace¹⁵.

But the king's behaviour on that occasion, which was firm and manly, as well as political, restored him to the good opinion of his subjects in general. The populace dispersed, on his promising to receive their petitions, when presented in a regular form; and this fanatical insurrection, instead of overturning, served only to establish the royal authority. Those concerned in it, as soon as their enthusiastic rage had subsided, were filled with apprehension and terror, at the thoughts of insulted majesty; while the body of the people, in order to avoid suspicion, or to gain the favour of their prince, contended who should be most forward to execute his vengeance¹⁶.

A convention of estates being called in January 1597, pronounced the late insurrection to be high treason; ordained every clergyman to subscribe a declaration of his submission to the king's jurisdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; empowered magistrates to commit instantly to prison any minister, who in his sermons should utter any indecent reflections on the king's conduct, and prohibited any ecclesiastical judicatory to meet without the king's licence¹⁷. These ordinances were confirmed the same year, by the general assembly of the kirk, which also declared sentences of summary excommunication unlawful, and vested in the crown the right of nominating ministers to the parishes in the principal towns¹⁸.

These were great and necessary steps; and perhaps James should have proceeded no farther in altering the government or worship of the church of Scotland. But he was not yet satisfied: he longed to bring it nearer to the episcopal model; and, after various struggles, he acquired sufficient influence over the Presbyterian clergy, even before his access-

15. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* book viii. vol. ii.

17. *Id. ibid.*

16. *Id. ibid.*

18. Spotswood, p. 433.

sion to the crown of England, to get an act passed by their general assembly, declaring those ministers, on whom the king should confer the vacant bishopricks and abbeys, entitled to a vote in parliament¹⁹. Nor did he stop here. No sooner was he firmly seated on the English throne, than he engaged them, though with still greater reluctance, to receive the bishops as perpetual presidents, or moderators, in their ecclesiastical synods.

The abhorrence of the Presbyterian clergy against episcopacy was still, however, very great: nor could all the devices invented for restraining and circumscribing the spiritual jurisdiction of those, who were to be raised to these new honours, or the hope of sharing them, allay their jealousy and fear²⁰. James was therefore sensible, that he never could establish a conformity in worship and discipline, between the churches of England and Scotland, until he could procure from the Scottish parliament an acknowledgment of his own supremacy in all ecclesiastical causes. This was the principal object of his visit to his native country: where he proposed to the great council of the nation, which was then assembled, that an act might be passed, declaring that "whatever his majesty should determine in regard to the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, should have the force of a law"²¹.

June 15.

Had this bill received the sanction of parliament, the king's ecclesiastical government would have been established

19. Spotswood, p. 450.

20. Perhaps the Presbyterian clergy might have been less obstinate in rejecting James's scheme of uniformity, had any prospect remained of recovering the patrimony of the church. But that, they knew, had been torn in pieces by the rapacious nobility and gentry, and at their own instigation: so that all hope of a restitution of church-lands was cut off; and without such restitution, the ecclesiastical dignities could scarcely become the object of the ambition of a rational mind.

21. Spotswood. Franklin.

in its full extent ; as it was not determined what number of the clergy should be deemed competent, and their nomination was left entirely to himself. Some of them protested : they apprehended, they said, that, by means of this new authority, the purity of their church would be polluted with all the rites and forms of the church of England ; and James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped his favourite mea-

A. D. 1618. sure. He was able, however, next year, to extort a vote from the general assembly of the kirk, for receiving certain ceremonies upon which his heart was more particularly set ; namely, kneeling at the sacrament, the private administration of it to sick persons, the confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals²². Thus, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant forms, the king betrayed, though in an opposite manner, an equal narrowness of mind with the Presbyterian clergy, whom he affected to hold in contempt. The constrained consent of the general assembly was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people : even the few, over whom religious prejudices have less influence, thought national honour sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship practised in England²³.

A series of unpopular measures conspired to increase that odium, into which James had now fallen in both kingdoms, and which continued to the end of his reign. The first of these was the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.

This extraordinary man, who suggested the first idea of the English colonies in North America, and who had attempted, as early as the year 1586, a settlement in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, then considered as part of Virginia, had also made a voyage, in 1595, to Guiana, in South America. The extravagant account which he published of the riches of this latter country, where no mines of any value have yet been discovered, has

22. *Ibid.* -

23. Hume, chap. xlvii.

drawn much censure upon his veracity : particularly his description of the apparently fabulous empire and city of Manoa or Eldorado, the sovereign of which he conjectures possessed more treasure than the Spaniards had drawn from both Mexico and Peru ²⁴.

Raleigh's motive for uttering these splendid falfities, seems to have been a desire of turning the avidity of his countrymen toward that quarter of the New World, where the Spaniards had found the precious metals in such abundance. This, indeed, sufficiently appears from his relation of certain Peruvian prophecies, which expressly pointed out the English as the conquerors and deliverers of that rich country, which he had discovered. As he was known, however, to be a man of a romantic turn of mind, and it did not appear that he had enriched himself by his voyage, little regard seems to have been paid to his narrative either by Elizabeth or the nation. But after he had languished many years in confinement, as a punishment for his conspiracy against James ; when the envy excited by his superior talents was laid asleep, and commiseration awakened for his unhappy condition, a report which he propagated of a wonderfully rich gold mine that he formerly had discovered in Guiana, obtained universal belief. People of all ranks were impatient to take possession of a country overflowing with the precious metals, and to which the nation was supposed to have a right by priority of discovery.

The king, by his own account, gave little credit to this report ; not only because he believed there was no such mine in nature as the one described, but because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortune, whose business it was by any means to procure his freedom, and reinstate himself in credit and authority ²⁵. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, James

²⁴. See his *Relat.* in Hackluyt's *Collect.*

²⁵. King James's *Vindication*, in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. No. 2.

ordered him to be released from the Tower: and when the hopes held out to the nation had induced multitudes to adopt his views, the king gave him permission to pursue the projected enterprise, and vested him with authority over his fellow-adventurers; but being still dissident of his intentions, he refused to grant him a pardon, that he might have some check upon his future conduct ²⁶.

The preparations made, in consequence of this commission, alarmed Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador; and although Raleigh protested the innocence of his intentions, and James urged his royal prohibition against invading any of the settlements of his Catholic Majesty, that minister conveyed to his court intelligence of the expedition, and his apprehensions from it. Twelve armed vessels, he justly concluded, could not be fitted out without some purpose of hostility; and as Spain was then the only European power that had possessions in that part of America to which this fleet was destined, orders were given by the court of Madrid for fortifying all its settlements on or near the coast of Guiana.

It soon appeared, that this precaution was not unnecessary. Though Raleigh's commission impowered him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants, he steered his course directly for the river Oronoco, where he knew there was a Spanish town named St. Thomas; and, without any provocation, sent a detachment, under his son and his old associate, captain Keymis, who had accompanied him in his former voyage, to dislodge the Spaniards, and take possession of that town; while he himself, with the larger vessels, guarded the mouth of the river, in order to obstruct such Spanish ships as should attempt the relief of the place ²⁷. The Spaniards, apprized of this inva-

²⁶ Id. *ibid*.

²⁷ All these particulars may be distinctly collected from the king's *Vindication*, and Raleigh's *Apology*.

tion, opposed the landing of the English; as they had foreseen. Young Raleigh was killed by a shot, while animating his followers: Keymis, however, and his surviving companions, not dismayed by the unfortunate accident, took, plundered, and burnt St. Thomas; but found in it no booty any way adequate to their expectations²⁸.

It might have been expected, that these bold adventurers, having overcome all opposition, would now have gone in quest of the gold mine, the great object of their enterprize, as Keymis was said to be as well, if not better, acquainted with it than Raleigh. But, although that officer affirmed he was within a few miles of the place, he refused, under the most absurd pretences, to carry his companions thither, or to take any effectual step for again finding it himself. Struck, as it should seem, with the atrocity of his conduct, and with his embarrassing situation, he immediately returned to Raleigh with the sorrowful news of his son's death, and the disappointment of his followers. The interview, it may be conjectured, was not the most agreeable that could have ensued between the parties. Under the strong agitation of mind which it occasioned, Keymis, keenly sensible to reproach, and foreseeing disgrace, if not an ignominious death,

28. In apology for this violence, it has been said, that the Spaniards had built the town of St. Thomas in a country originally discovered by Raleigh; and therefore he had a right to dispossess them. Admitting that to be the case, Raleigh could never be excusable in making war without any commission empowering him so to do, much less in invading the Spanish settlements contrary to his commission. But the fact is otherwise: the Spaniards had frequently visited the coast of Guiana before Raleigh touched upon it. Even as early as the year 1499, Alonzo de Ojeda and Americus Vespucius had landed on different places on that coast, and made some excursions up the country (Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. cap. 1, 2.) and the great Columbus himself had discovered the mouth of the Orinoco some years before. Between three and four hundred Spaniards are said to have been killed by Keymis and his party, at the sacking of St. Thomas. "This is the *true mine*!" said young Raleigh, as he rushed on to the attack;—"and none but fools looked for any other." *Howel's Letters*, vol. ii.

as the reward of his violence and imposture, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his life.

The sequel of this delusive and pompous expedition, it is still more painful to relate. The adventurers in general now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; that the story of the mine had only been invented to afford him a pretext for pillaging St. Thomas, the spoils of which, he hoped, would encourage his followers to proceed to the plunder of other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortune by such daring enterprizes, trusting to the riches he should acquire for obtaining a pardon from James; or if that prospect failed him, that he meant to take refuge in some foreign country, where his wealth would secure him an asylum²⁹. The inconsiderable booty gained by the sack of St. Thomas, discouraged his followers, however, from embracing these splendid projects, though it appears that he had employed many artifices to engage them in his designs. Besides, they saw a palpable absurdity in a fleet, acting under the sanction of royal authority, committing depredations against the allies of the crown: they therefore thought it safest, whatever might be their inclinations, or how great soever their disappointment, to return immediately to England, and carry their leader along with them to answer for his conduct.

On the examination of Raleigh and his companions, before the privy council, where the foregoing facts were brought to light, it appeared that the king's suspicions, in regard to his intentions, had been well grounded; that, contrary to his instructions, he had committed hostilities against the subjects of his majesty's ally, the king of Spain, and had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to that prince; so that he might have been tried either by common law for this act of violence, or by martial law for breach of

29. See the King's *Vindication*.

orders. But it was the opinion of all the crown-lawyers, as we learn from Bacon ³⁰, That as Raleigh still lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. James, therefore, in order to satisfy the court of Madrid, which was very clamorous on this occasion, signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh's behaviour, since his return, had hitherto been beneath the dignity of his character. He had counterfeited madness, sickness, and a variety of distempers, in order to protract his examination, and enable him to procure the means of his escape. But finding his fate inevitable, he now collected all his courage, and met death with the most heroic indifference. Feeling the edge of the axe with which he was to be beheaded, " 'Tis a sharp remedy," said he, " but a sure one for all ills ³¹ !" then calmly laid his head on the block, and received the fatal blow.

Of all the transactions of a reign distinguished by public discontent, this was perhaps the most odious. Men of every condition were filled with indignation against the court. Even such as acknowledged the justice of Raleigh's punishment, blamed the measure. They thought it cruel to execute a sentence, originally severe, and tacitly pardoned, which had been so long suspended; and they considered it as mean and impolitic, even though a new trial had been instituted, to sacrifice to a concealed enemy of England, the only man in the kingdom whose reputation was high for valour and military experience.

Unhappily for James, the intimate connexions which he was endeavouring to form with Spain, in themselves disgusting to the nation, increased the public dissatisfaction. Gondomar, ambassador from the court of Madrid, a man capable of the most artful flattery, and no stranger to the king's

³⁰. See *Original Letters*, &c. published by Dr. Birch, p. 121.

³¹. Franklin.

hereditary pride, had proposed a match between the prince of Wales and the second daughter of his Catholic majesty; and in order to render the temptation irresistible to the English monarch, whose necessities were well known, he gave hopes of an immense fortune with the Spanish princess. Allured by the prospect of that alliance, James, it has been affirmed, was not only induced to bring Raleigh to the block, but to abandon the elector Palatine, his son-in-law, and the Protestant interest in Germany, to the ambition of the house of Austria. This latter suspicion completed the odium occasioned by the former, and roused the attention of parliament.

We have formerly had occasion to observe³², in what manner Frederic V. elector Palatine, was induced, by the persecuted Protestants, to accept the crown of Bohemia, contrary to the advice of the king of England, his father-in-law; and how he was chased from that kingdom, and stripped of all his hereditary dominions, by the power of the emperor Ferdinand I. supported by the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Evangelical Union, or Protestant body in Germany, though assisted by the United Provinces. A. D. 1620. The news of these disasters no sooner reached England than the voice of the nation was loud against the king's inactivity. People of all ranks were on fire to engage in the defence of the distressed Palatine, and rescue their Protestant brethren from the persecutions of the idolatrous Catholics, their implacable and cruel enemies. In this quarrel they would cheerfully have marched to the extremity of Europe, have inconsiderately plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and freely have expended the blood and treasure of the kingdom. They therefore regarded James's neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and of his holy religion; not reflecting, that their interference in the wars on the con-

continent, however agreeable to pious zeal, could not be justified on any sound maxims of policy.

The king's ideas, relative to this matter, were not more liberal than those of his subjects; but happily, for once, they were more friendly to the welfare of the nation. Shocked at the revolt of a people against their prince, he refused, on that account, to patronize the Bohemian Protestants, or to bestow on his son-in-law the title of king³³; although he owned that he had not examined their pretensions, privileges, or constitution³⁴. To have withdrawn their allegiance from their sovereign, under whatever circumstances, was, in his eyes, an enormous crime, and a sufficient reason for denying them any support; as if subjects must be ever in the wrong, when they stand in opposition to those who have acquired, or assumed authority over them, how much soever that authority may have been abused!

The Spanish match is likewise allowed to have had some influence upon the political sentiments of James, on this occasion. He flattered himself that, in consequence of his son's marriage with the infanta, and the intimate connexions it would form between England and Spain, besides other advantages, the restitution of the Palatinate might be procured from motives of mere friendship. The principal members of the House of Commons, however, thought very differently: that projected marriage was the great object of their terror. They saw no good that could result from it, but were apprehensive of a multitude of evils, which, as the guardians of public liberty and general happiness, they thought it their duty to prevent. They accordingly framed a remonstrance to the king, representing the enormous growth of the Austrian power become dangerous to the liberties of Europe, and the alarming progress of the catholic religion in

33. Rushworth, vol. i.

44. It was a very dangerous precedent, he said, against all Christian kings, to allow the translation of a crown by the people. Franklin, p. 48.

England. And they intreated his Majesty instantly to take arms in defence of the Palatine; to turn his sword against Spain, whose treasures were the chief support of the catholic interest over Europe; and to exclude all hope of the toleration or re-establishment of popery in the kingdom, by entering into no negociation for the marriage of his son, Charles, but with a Protestant princess. Yet more effectually to extinguish that idolatrous worship, they requested that the fines and confiscations to which the catholics were subject, by law, should be levied with the utmost rigour; and that the children of such as refused to conform to the established worship should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of Protestant divines and schoolmasters ³⁵.

Inflamed with indignation at hearing of these instructions, which militated against all his favourite maxims of government, James instantly wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons, commanding him to admonish the members, in his Majesty's name, not to *presume to meddle* with any thing that *regarded his government*, or with deep matters of state, as above their reach and capacity; and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king or any other of his friends and confederates ³⁶. Conscious of their strength and popularity, the commons were rather roused than intimidated by this imperious letter. Along with a new remonstrance they returned the former, which had been withdrawn; and maintained, That they were entitled to *interpose* with their *counsel* in all matters of government; and that entire freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their *ancient* and *undoubted* right, and an *inheritance* transmitted to them from their *ancestors* ³⁷.

The king's reply was keen and ready. He told the house,

35. Rushworth, vol. i.

36. Id. ibid.

37. Rushworth, ubi sup. See also Franklin and Kennet.

that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful and loyal subjects; that their pretension to inquire into all state-affairs, without exception, was a *plenipotence* to which none of their ancestors, even during the weakest reigns, had ever dared to aspire: and he closed his answer with the following memorable words, which discover a very considerable share of political sagacity: “ although we cannot allow of your style, in mentioning
 “ your *ancient* and *undoubted right* and *inheritance*, but would
 “ rather have wished, that ye had said, that your privileges
 “ were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for the most of them grew from precedents,
 “ which shew rather a toleration than inheritance); yet we
 “ are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as
 “ long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your
 “ duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your
 “ lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, nay as to preserve our own royal prerogative ³⁸.”

Alarmed at this dangerous insinuation, that their privileges were derived from royal favour, the commons framed a protest, in which they opposed pretension to pretension, and declared, “ That the *liberties, franchises, privileges, and*
 “ *jurisdictions of parliament*, are the *ancient and undoubted*
 “ *birth-right* and *inheritance* of the *subjects of England*, and
 “ that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the *king,*
 “ *state, and defence* of the *realm*, and of the *church of England,*
 “ *and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress*
 “ *of grievances*, which daily happen within this realm, are
 “ *proper subjects*, and matter of *counsel or debate* in *parliament*; and that in the handling and proceeding on
 “ these businesses, *every member* of the house of *parliament* *both,* and of right ought to have, *freedom of speech*

“to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the
“same ^{39.}”

Thus, my dear Philip, was fully opened, between the King and parliament, the grand dispute concerning Privilege and Prerogative, which gave birth to the *Court and Country Parties*, and which so long occupied the tongues, the pens, and even swords, of the most able and active men in the nation. Without entering deeply into this dispute (of which you must make yourself master by consulting the controversial writers), or taking side with either party, it may be observed, That if our ancestors, from the violent invasion of William the Norman to the period of which we are treating, did not enjoy so perfect, or perhaps so extensive a system of liberty, as since the Revolution, in 1688, they were at no time *legally* subject to the rule of an absolute foreigner; and that, although the victorious arms and insidious policy of a foreign and hostile prince obliged them, in the hour of misfortune, to submit to his ambitious sway, and to the tyrannical laws which he afterward thought proper to impose upon the nation, the spirit of liberty was never extinguished in the breasts of Englishmen. They still looked back, with admiration and regret, to their independent condition under their native princes, and to the unlimited freedom of their Saxon forefather; and, as soon as circumstances would permit, they compelled their princes, of the Norman line, to restore to them the most essential of their former laws, privileges, and immunities. Their *original rights*, as we have seen, were repeatedly confirmed to them by *charter*; and if they were also frequently violated by encroaching princes, those violations ought never to be pleaded as precedents, every such violation being a flagrant act of injustice and perjury, as every king, by his coronation oath, was solemnly bound to maintain the national charters. Nor did the people, keenly

sensible to those injuries and insults, fail to avenge themselves as often as in their power, on the invaders of their liberties, or to take new measures for their future security.

This much is certain: but, whether the commons were at first admitted into parliament through the indulgence of the prince, or in consequence of an original right to sit there, and what they claimed as their constitutional province, are matters of more intricacy, and less moment. That subject, however, I have had occasion to consider in deducing the effects of the Norman revolution, and in tracing the progress of society in Europe⁴⁰. It will, therefore, be sufficient here to observe, That the English government was never a mere monarchy; that there was always a parliament or national assembly; that the commons, or third estate, had very early, and as soon as they were of any political importance, a place in that assembly; and that the privileges, for which they now contended, were essential to enable them to act with dignity, or indeed in such a manner as to be useful to the community, either in their deliberative or legislative capacity.

The subsequent transactions of James's reign were neither numerous nor important. They afford us, however, a precious picture of the weakness and extravagance of human nature; and therefore deserve our attention, as observers of the manners as well of the policy of nations and of the vices and follies, no less than of the respectable qualities of men.

The Spanish match was still the king's favourite object. In order to facilitate that measure, he dispatched a gentleman of the name of Digby, soon after
A. D. 1612.
created earl of Bristol, as his ambassador to the court of Madrid, while he softened at home the severity of the laws against popish recusants. The same religious motives which had hitherto made the Spaniards averse against the marriage,

now disposed them to promote it. They hoped to see the catholic church freed from persecution, if not the ancient worship re-established in England, by means of the infanta : and so full were they of this idea, that Bristol, a vigilant and discerning minister, assured his master, that the Palatine would not only be restored to his dominions, but, what was still more agreeable to the needy monarch, that a dowry of two millions of pefoes, or about five hundred thousand pounds sterling would accompany the royal bride ⁴¹.

This alliance, however, was still odious to the English nation ; and Buckingham, become jealous of the reputation of Bristol, by a most absurd adventure contrived to ruin both him and the negotiation. On purpose to ingratiate himself into the favour of the prince of Wales, with whose candid turn of mind he was well acquainted, he represented to him the peculiar unhappiness of princes, in commonly receiving to their arms an unknown bride ; one not endeared by sympathy, not obliged by services, wooed by treaties alone, and attached by no ties but those of political interest ! that it was in his power, by going into Spain in person, to avoid all these inconveniencies, and to lay such an obligation on the infanta, if he found her really worthy of his love, as could not fail to warm the coldest affections ; that his journey to Madrid, so conformable to the generous ideas of Spanish gallantry, would recommend him to the princess under the endearing character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer ; and, at the same time, would afford him a glorious opportunity of chusing for himself, and of examining with his own senses the companion of his future life, and the partner of his bed and throne ⁴².

These arguments made a deep impression on the affec-

41. Rushworth, vol. i. The marriage, and the restitution of the Palatinate, we are assured, by the most undoubted testimony, were always considered by the court of Spain as inseparable. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 66. Franklin, p. 71, 72.

42. Clarendon, vol. i.

tionate temper of Charles. He obtained, in an unguarded hour, his father's consent to the Spanish journey; and off the two adventurers set, to the great uneasiness of James; who, as soon as he had leisure for reflexion, became afraid of bad consequences resulting from the unbridled spirit of Buckingham, and the youth and inexperience of his son. His apprehensions were but too well founded; yet, for a time, the affairs of the prince of Wales wore a very promising and happy appearance at Madrid. Philip IV. one of the most magnificent monarchs that ever sat on the Spanish throne, paid Charles a visit immediately on his arrival, and expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours. He took the left hand of him on every occasion and in every place, except in the apartments assigned to Charles; a distinction founded on the most perfect principles of politeness: "For here," said Philip, "you are at home!" He was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attend the kings of Spain at their coronation. All the gaols were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the most fortunate and honourable event had happened to the monarchy⁴³.

Independent of his enthusiastic gallantry toward the infant, and the unparalleled confidence which he had placed in the honour of the Spanish nation, by his romantic journey to Madrid, the decent reserve, and modest deportment of Charles, endeared him to that grave and formal people, and inspired them with the most favourable ideas of his character; while the bold manner, the unrestrained freedom of discourse, the sallies of passion, the levity and the licentiousness of Buckingham, rendered him odious to the whole court. The grandees could not conceal their surprize, that

⁴³. Franklin, p. 74.

such an unprincipled young man, who seemed to respect no laws divine or human, should be allowed to obtrude himself into a negotiation, already almost conducted to a happy issue, by so able a statesman as Bristol: and the ministry hinted a doubt of the sufficiency of his powers, as they had not been confirmed by the privy council of England, in order to prevent him from assuming the merit of the matrimonial treaty. He grossly insulted, and publicly quarrelled with Olivarez, the prime minister; a circumstance that drew on him yet greater detestation from the Spanish courtiers, who contemplated with horror the Infanta's future condition, in being exposed to the approaches of such a brutal man⁴⁴.

Sensible how much he was hated by the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which the court of Madrid would acquire in England, in consequence of the projected marriage, Buckingham resolved to poison the mind of the prince; and yet, if possible, to prevent the nuptials from taking place:—and he effected his purpose. But history has not informed us by what arguments he induced Charles to offer so heinous an affront to the Spanish nation, after such generous treatment, and to the Infanta, whom he had gone so far to visit, and for whom he had hitherto expressed the warmest attachment. In regard to those we are totally in the dark. For although we may conjecture, from his subsequent conduct, that they were of the political kind, we only know with certainty, That when the prince of Wales left Madrid, he was firmly determined to break off the treaty with Spain, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary; that when Buckingham arrived in England he ascribed the failure of the negotiation solely to the insincerity and duplicity of the Spaniards; that by means of these false representations, to which the king and the prince of Wales meanly gave their assent, he ingratiated himself into the fa-

44. Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. i.

your of the popular party; and that the nation eagerly rushed into a war against the Spanish monarchy, in order to revenge insults it had never sustained⁴⁵.

The situation of the earl of Bristol, at the court of Madrid, was now truly pitiable; nor were the domestic concerns of that court a little distressing, or the king of England's embarrassment small. To abandon a project, which had, during so many years, been the chief object of his wishes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to so desirable a crisis; a rupture with Spain, and the loss of two million of pesos, were prospects by no means agreeable to the pacific temper, and indigent condition of James: but finding his only son averse to a match which had always been odious to his people, and opposed by his parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he wanted courage or strength of mind to overcome.

It was now the business of Charles and Buckingham to seek for pretences, by which they could give some appearance of justice to their intended breach of treaty. They accordingly employed many artifices, in order to delay or prevent the espousals; and these all proving ineffectual, Bristol at last received positive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, until security was given for the full restitution of the Palatinate⁴⁶. The king of Spain understood this language. He was acquainted with Buckingham's disgust, and had expected that the violent disposition, and unbounded influence of that favourite, would leave nothing unattempted to embroil the two nations. Resolved, however, to demonstrate to all Europe the sincerity of his intentions, and to throw the blame where it was due, he delivered into Bristol's hands a written promise, binding himself to procure the restoration of the Electoral Palatinate. And when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction to the

⁴⁵ Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. i.

⁴⁶ Rushworth, vol. i. Kennet, p. 776.

court of England, he ordered the Infanta to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, which she had borne after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; commanding, at the same time, preparations for war to be made throughout all his extensive dominions⁴⁷.

Bristol, who, during Charles's residence in Spain, had always opposed, though unsuccessfully, his own wife and well tempered councils to the impetuous measures suggested by Buckingham; and who, even after the prince's departure, had strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as on the advantages which England must reap from the completion of it, was enraged to find his successful labours rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minion. But he was not surprised to hear that the favourite had afterward declared himself his open enemy, and thrown out many injurious reflexions against him, both before the council and parliament. Conscious, however, of his own innocence, Bristol prepared to leave Madrid on the first order to that purpose; although the Catholic King, sorry that this minister's enemies should have so far prevailed as to infuse prejudices into his master and his country against a servant who had so faithfully discharged his duty to both, entreated him to fix his residence in Spain, where he should enjoy all the advantages of rank and fortune, rather than expose himself to the inveterate malice of his rival, and the ungovernable fury of the English populace.

Bristol's reply was truly magnanimous. While he expressed the utmost gratitude for that princely offer, he thought himself obliged, he said, to decline it; that nothing would more confirm all the calumnies of his enemies than remaining at Madrid; and that the highest dignity in the Spanish monarchy would be but a poor compensation for the

loss of that honour, which he must endanger by such exaltation. Charmed with this answer, which increased still farther his esteem for the English ambassador, Philip begged him at least to accept a present of ten thousand ducats, which might be requisite for his support, until he could dissipate the calumnies of his enemies; assuring him at the same time, that his compliance should for ever remain a secret to all the world, and could never come to the knowledge of his master. "There is one person," replied the generous nobleman, "who must necessarily know it: he is the earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to the king of England⁴⁸!"

The king of England was unworthy of such a servant. Bristol, on his return, was immediately committed to the Tower. In vain did he demand an opportunity of justifying himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master. Buckingham and the prince of Wales were inexorable, unless he would acknowledge his misconduct; a proposal which his high spirit rejected with disdain. A.D. 1624. After being released from confinement, he was therefore ordered to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance in parliament⁴⁹.

In consequence of the rupture with Spain, and the hostile disposition in the parliament, an alliance was entered into, as we have formerly had occasion to notice⁵⁰, between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for

48. Franklin, p. 86.

49. Rushworth, vol. i. James perhaps is more to be pitied than blamed for his ungenerous treatment of Bristol, after his return. Supported by the prince of Wales, as well as by the popular party in parliament, Buckingham exercised the most cruel despotism over the king, always timid, and now in the decline of life. Yet when Buckingham insisted on Bristol's signing a confession of his misconduct, as the only means of regaining favour at court, James had the spirit, and the equity to say, That it was "an horrible tyranny to make an innocent man declare himself guilty." *Id. ibid.*

50. Part, I. Let. LXXIV.

restraining the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate. A treaty of marriage was about the same time negotiated between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France, sister to Lewis XIII. and daughter of Henry IV. an accomplished prince, whom Charles had seen and admired in his way to Madrid, and who remained, during his whole life, a dangerous enemy to his reign, by means of his too tender and affectionate heart⁵¹.

This match was highly agreeable to James; who, although well acquainted with the animosity of his subjects against any alliance with Catholics, still persevered in a romantic A. D. 1625. opinion, suggested by hereditary pride, that his March 27. son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal extraction⁵². He did not live, however, to see the celebration of the nuptials, but died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, soon after the failure of the expedition under count Mansfeldt, for the recovery of the Palatinate, which I have formerly had occasion to mention, in treating of the affairs of Germany⁵³.

That James was contemptible as a monarch, must perhaps be allowed; but that he was so as a man, can by no

51. A secret passion for this princess, had perhaps induced Charles to listen to himself, to listen to the arguments of Buckingham, for breaking off the Spanish match. And if Buckingham had discovered that passion, he would not fail to make use of it for accomplishing his purpose. Such a supposition forms the best apology for Charles's conduct in regard to the Infanta.

52. Rushworth, vol. i.

53. Part. I. Let. LXXIV. The troops under Mansfeldt's command, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, were embarking at Dover; but failing over to Calais, he found no orders yet arrived for their admission. After waiting in vain, for such orders, he judged it necessary to sail towards Zealand; where the troops were again detained, as proper measures had not been taken for their debarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had crept in among the English soldiers, being crowded up in narrow vessels. One half of the men died while on board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too feeble to march into the Palatinate. Rushworth, vol. i. Franklin, p. 104.

means be admitted. His disposition was friendly, his temper benevolent, and his humour gay. He possessed a considerable share of both learning and abilities, but wanted that vigour of mind, and dignity of manner, which are essential to form a respectable sovereign. His spirit rather than his understanding, was weak; and the loftiness of his pretensions, contrasted with the smallness of his kingly power, only perhaps could have exposed him to ridicule, notwithstanding the ungracefulness of his person, and the gross familiarity of his conversation. His turn of mind inclined him to promote the arts, both useful and ornamental; and that peace which he loved, and so timidly courted, was favourable to industry and commerce. It may therefore be confidently affirmed, That in no preceding period of the English monarchy was there a more sensible increase of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people, than during the reign of this despised prince.

Of six legitimate children, borne to him by Anne of Denmark, James left only one son, Charles I. now in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector Palatine.—We must carry forward the history of our own island, my dear Philip, to the unhappy catastrophe of Charles, before we return to the affairs of the continent.

L E T T E R III.

ENGLAND, *from the Accession of CHARLES I. to the Assassination of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, in 1628.*

AS Charles and Buckingham, by breaking off the Spanish match, and engaging the nation in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, had acquired the favour of the popular party in the House of Commons, the young king was eager to meet the representative body of his people, that he might have an opportunity of shewing himself to them in his new character, and of receiving a testimony of their dutiful attachment. Thus confident of the affection of his subjects, and not doubting but the parliament would afford him a liberal and voluntary supply, he employed no intrigue to influence the votes of the members. In his speech from the throne, he slightly mentioned the exigencies of the state, but would not suffer the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to name or solicit any particular sum; he left the whole to the generosity of the commons. But the commons had no generosity for Charles. Never was prince more deceived by placing confidence in any body of men. Though they knew that he was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father; that he was engaged in a difficult and expensive war with the whole house of Austria; that this war was the result of their own importunate solicitations and entreaties; and that they had solemnly engaged to yield the necessary supplies for the support of it:—in order to answer all these great and important ends, and demonstrate their affection to their young sovereign, they granted him only two subsidies, amounting to about an hundred and twelve thousand pounds¹.

¹ *Gabalq. p. 224.*

The causes of this excessive parsimony deserve to be traced. It is in vain to say, That war, during the feudal times, being supported by men, not money, the commons were not yet accustomed to open their purses. They must have been sensible, that the feudal militia being now laid aside, naval and military enterprizes could not be conducted without money; especially as the heads of the Country Party, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym, were men of great talents and enlarged views. We must therefore look deeper for the motives of this cruel mockery of their young king, on his first appearance in parliament, and when his necessities, and the honour, if not the interests of the nation, called for the most liberal supply.

These enlightened patriots, animated with a warm love of liberty, saw with regret a too extensive authority exercised by the crown; and regardless of former precedents, were determined to seize the opportunity which the present crisis might afford them, of restraining the royal prerogative within more reasonable bounds, and of securing the privileges of the people by firmer and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. They accordingly resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince, without extorting proportional concessions in favour of civil liberty. And how ungenerous soever such a conduct might seem, they conceived that it was fully justified by the beneficent end they had in view. The means were regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the commons; and as all human governments, but especially those of a mixed kind, are in continual fluctuation, it was, in their opinion, as natural and allowable for popular assemblies to take advantage of favourable conjunctures, in order to secure the rights of the subject, as for sovereigns to make use of such occasions, in order to extend the royal authority.

Beside these general arguments, the commons had reasons of a particular and personal nature, which induced them to be sparing in their aids to the crown. Though Buckingham, in order to severn himself from the resentment of Jews, who was enraged at his breaking off the Spanish match, had affected popularity, and entered into a league with the Puritans, they were always doubtful of his sincerity. Now secure of the confidence of Charles, he had realized their suspicions, by abandoning them; and was, on that account, the distinguished object of their hatred, as well as of their fears. They saw, with terror and concern, the whole power of administration grasped by his ambitious hand; while he governed his master by a more absolute ascendant than he had ever held over the late king, and possessed in his single person the most considerable offices of the state. The rest were chiefly occupied by his numerous favorites and dependents; whom his violent temper prompted him to raise suddenly to the highest point of elevation, and to throw down, on the least occasion of displeasure, with equal impetuosity and violence. Disgusted with the failure of the expedition under Mansfeldt, the commons were of opinion, that such a ministry was not to be trusted with the management of a war, how laudable soever its object; for allowing, what was very improbable, that success should attend their measures, the event was no less to be dreaded. A conquering army, in the hands of unprincipled men, might prove as dangerous to freedom, as the invasion of a foreign enemy. Religion, at least, would be exposed to the utmost peril; religion, already insulted by the appearance of popish priests in their vestments, and the relaxation of the laws against recusants, in consequence of the alliance with France²; and that too, at a time, when the peace of many

2. A chapel at Somerset-house had been built for the queen and her family, with conveniences thereunto adjoining for Capuchin friars, who had permission to walk abroad in their religious habits. Rushworth, vol. i.

an honest mind was disturbed, by being obliged to conform to the more decent ceremonies of the church of England, and when many a bold heart trembled at the sight of a surplice.

Induced by these reasonings, however justifiable the commons might think their parsimony, it appeared in a very different light to Charles. He at first considered it as spleen against Buckingham, and as such ungenerous and cruel; but when he perceived, that it proceeded from a purpose of abridging his prerogative, which he thought already too limited, he regarded that purpose as highly criminal. Filled with lofty ideas of monarchical power, an attempt to circumscribe his authority seemed to him little less than a conspiracy against the throne. He therefore speedily reassembled the parliament, which he had been obliged to adjourn on account of the plague, which at that time raged in London. It met at Oxford; and there the king, laying aside that delicacy which he had hitherto observed, endeavoured to draw from the commons a more liberal supply, by making them fully acquainted with the state of his affairs; with the debts of the crown, the expenses of the war, the steps he had taken, and the engagements into which he had entered for conducting it. But all his arguments, and even entreaties, were employed in vain: the commons remained inexorable. They obstinately refused any farther assistance; though it was known, that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth in great want of pay and provisions, and that Buckingham and the treasurer of the navy had advanced, on their own credit, near an hundred thousand pounds for the sea service. They answered him only by vexatious petitions, and complaints of grievances.

Enraged at such obduracy, Charles dissolved the parliament, and attempted to raise money by other means. He had recourse to the old expedient of forcing a loan from the

subject. For this purpose privy-seals were issued; and, by sums so raised, he was enabled, though with difficulty, to equip his fleet. It consisted of eighty sail, including transports, and carried an army of ten thousand men, destined to act as occasion might require. The chief command was entrusted to lord viscount Wimbledon, late'y Sir Edward Cecil, one of Buckingham's creatures. He sailed directly for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value; yet these, through misconduct, were suffered to escape. The troops were landed and a fort was taken. But that being found of small consequence, and an epidemical distemper having broke out among the soldiers and sailors, occasioned by the immoderate use of new wine, Wimbledon re-imbarked his forces; and after cruizing a while off Cape St. Vincent, but without success, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish plate-fleet, he returned to England with his sickly crew, to the great dissatisfaction of the nation⁴.

The failure of an enterprize, from which he expected so much treasure, obliged Charles again to call a
 A. D. 1626. parliament, and lay his necessities before the commons. They immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, and afterward added one subsidy more; yet the sum was still very inadequate to the exigencies of the state, and little fitted to promote the ambitious views of the young king. But the scantiness of this supply was not the most mortifying circumstances attending it. The commons, in the first instance, only voted it; and reserved, until the end of the session, the power of giving that vote the sanction of a law. In the meantime, under colour of redressing grievances, they proceeded in regulating and controuling every part of government; and it required no deep penetration to perceive, that if the king obstructed their measures, or refused compliance with their demands, that he must expect no aid from parliament. Though Charles

4. Rushworth, vol. i. Franklin, p. 113.

expressed great displeasure at this conditional mode of supply, as well as at the political inquiries of the commons, his pressing wants obliged him to submit, and wait with patience the issue of their deliberations⁵.

In order to strike at the root of all their grievances, the commons took a step little expected by the king or his minister. They proceeded to impeach the duke of Buckingham, who had long been odious to the nation, and became more so every day, by his arrogant behaviour, the uncontrouled ascendant which he maintained over his master, and the pernicious counsels which he was supposed to have dictated. The uniting of many offices in his person, accepting extensive grants from the crown, and procuring many titles of honour for his kindred, the chief articles of accusation exhibited against him, might perhaps be considered as grievances, and justly inspired with resentment such as thought they had a right to share in the honours and employments of the state, but could not, in the eye of the law, be considered as sufficient grounds for an impeachment. Charles, therefore, thinking the duke's whole guilt consisted in being his friend and favourite, rashly resolved to support him at all hazards, regardless of the fate of the conditional supply, or the clamour of the public⁶.

The lord-keeper, in the king's name, accordingly commanded the commons not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham. A message was also sent them, that if they did not speedily furnish his majesty with supplies, he would be obliged to try NEW COUNSELS. They went on, however, with their impeachment of the duke; though Sir John Elliot and Sir Dudley Diggs, two of the members who had been employed to conduct it, were sent to the Tower. And the majority of the house, after this insult, declared they would proceed no farther upon business, until they were righted in their privileges; and Charles, ever ready to adopt

5. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi.

6. Franklin, p. 198. Rushworth, vol. i.

violent counsels, but wanting firmness to persevere in them, finding he had acted with too much precipitancy, ordered the members to be set at liberty⁷. Thus irritated, but not intimidated, by a prince who had discovered his weakness, or imprudence, or both, the commons, regardless of the public necessities, continued their inquiries into the conduct of Buckingham. But not being able to fix any crime upon him, that could be legally brought under the article of high treason, they drew up a petition for removing him from his majesty's person and councils, as an unwise and dangerous minister⁸.

The affectionate and respectful style of that petition leave great room to believe, that if Charles had complied with the request of the commons, by renouncing all future connexion with Buckingham, a good understanding might yet have been established between the king and parliament, and all the horrors of civil war prevented; for if the pretensions of the commons afterwards exceeded the line of the constitution, these extravagant pretensions were first roused by the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, which excited a hatred against royal authority, and a desire of recrimination, which at last proved fatal to the monarchy. It may indeed be urged, on the other side, that the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, were occasioned by the obstinacy of the parliament; that Charles had no desire of oppressing his subjects, how high soever his ideas of prerogative might be, and would never have attempted any unconstitutional measure, if the commons had furnished him with the necessary and reasonable supplies. Both parties were therefore to blame, and perhaps equally; yet I cannot help believing the commons were sincere, when they made this solemn declaration to the king, in the close of a remonstrance, that followed their petition.

“ We profess, in the presence of Almighty God, the

7. Rushworth, vol. i.

8. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

“ searcher

“searcher of all hearts, that you are as highly esteemed and beloved as ever any of your predecessors were!” And, after entreating him to dismiss Buckingham from his presence, they thus apologize for their parsimony; “we protest to your majesty, and to the whole world, that until this great person be removed from intermeddling with the great affairs of state, we are out of hope of any good success; and do fear, that any money we shall or can give, will, through his misemployment, be turned rather to the prejudice of this your kingdom than otherwise, as by lamentable experience we have found, in those large supplies formerly and lately given. But no sooner shall we receive redress and relief in *this*, which of all others is our most insupportable grievance, but we shall forthwith proceed to accomplish your majesty’s own desire for supply; and likewise, with all cheerfulness, apply ourselves to the perfecting of divers other great things, such as we think no one parliament in one age can parallel, tending to the stability, wealth, strength, and honour of this your kingdom, and the support of your friends and allies abroad.”

Enraged at this second attempt to deprive him of his minister and favourite, Charles paid no regard to the prayer of the commons, or to his loss of supply, the necessary consequence of denying it, but immediately prepared to dissolve the parliament; in order to avoid any farther importunity, on a subject so ungrateful to his ear. “What idea,” said he, “must all mankind entertain of my honour, should I sacrifice my innocent friend to pecuniary considerations?” But allowing this friend and servant to have been more innocent, and even more able, than we find him, it was the king’s duty, as well as his interest, to dismiss his minister from all public employments, at the request of the representative body of his subjects. For, as the com-

mons very justly observed in their remonstrance, “ the relations between a sovereign and his people do far transcend, and are more prevalent and binding than any relation of a master towards a servant ; and consequently to hear and satisfy the just and necessary desires of his people is more honourable to a prince, than any expressions of grace to a servant¹⁰.

Instead of listening to such respectful arguments, Charles, by persevering in his support of Buckingham, involved himself, in the opinion of the nation, in all his favourite's crimes, whether real or imputed. Among these was a charge of having applied a plaster to the late king's side, without the knowledge of his physicians, and which was supposed to have been the cause of his death ; an accusation which, if Charles had believed to be just, would have loosened all the ties of affection to Buckingham, and which he would have prosecuted to the utmost. Yet were there people wicked enough to suppose, from the king's blind attachment to the duke, that he had been privy to such an atrocious crime. His adherence to this worthless man was indeed so strong as to exceed all belief. When the house of peers, whose compliant behaviour surely entitled them to some influence with him, requested that he would let the parliament sit a little longer, he hastily replied, “ Not a moment longer¹¹ !” and instantly ended the session by a dissolution.

In this alarming crisis of his affairs, as he did not chuse to resign his minister, the only rational counsel which Charles could pursue, was immediately to conclude a peace with Spain ; and, by that prudent measure, to render himself as independent as possible of the parliament, which seemed determined to take advantage of his necessities, in order to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more easy, more consistent with national interest, or more agreeable to his own

10. Id. *ibid.*

11. *Sanderfon's Life of Charles I.*

with; but the violent and impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge, for injuries which he himself had committed, and animated with a love of glory, which he wanted talents to acquire, persuaded his too facile master to continue the war, though he had not been able to procure him the constitutional means of supporting it. Those *new counsels*, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were therefore now to be tried, in order to supply his exigencies: and so high an idea had he conceived of kingly power, and so contemptible an opinion of the rights of national assemblies, that, if he had possessed a military force on which he could have depended, there is reason to believe he would at once have laid aside all reserve, and attempted to govern without any regard to parliamentary privileges¹². But being destitute of such a force, he was obliged to cover his violences under the sanction of ancient precedents, collected from all the tyrannical reigns since the Norman conquest.

The people, however, were too keen-sighted not to perceive, that examples can never alter the nature of injustice. They therefore complained loudly of the benevolences and loans, which were extorted from them under various forms; and these complaints were increased by a commission, which was openly issued, for compounding with popish recusants, and dispensing for a sum of money, with the penal laws enacted against them¹³. While the nation was in this dissatisfied humour, intelligence arrived of the defeat of the Protestants in Germany, by the imperial forces. A general loan from the subject was now exacted, equal to the four subsidies and three fifteenths voted last parliament; and many respectable persons were thrown into prison for refusing to pay their assessments. Most of them patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who ge-

12. This is the opinion of Mr. Hume, who will not be suspected of traducing the character of Charles.

13. Rushworth, vol. i.

nerally released them. Five gentlemen alone, namely, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Evingham, and Sir Edmund Hambden, had resolution enough to demand their release, not as a favour from the prince, but as their right by the laws of their country ¹⁴.

On examination it was found, that these gentlemen had been arbitrarily committed, at the special command alone of the king and council, without any cause being assigned for such commitment. This they asserted was not a sufficient ground for detaining them in custody. The question was brought to a solemn trial before the court of King's Bench; and in the course of the debates, it appeared incontestibly to the nation, that our ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty, as to secure it against absolute power in the prince, not only by an article in the GREAT CHARTER itself, the sacred basis of the laws and constitution, but by six several statutes besides ¹⁵. Precedents, however, were

numerous of the violation of those statutes: so
A. D. 1627. that the judges, obsequious to the court, refused to release the prisoners, or to admit them to bail ¹⁶.

The cry was now loud, that the nation was reduced to slavery. The liberty of the subject was violated, for refusing to submit to an illegal imposition! Nor was this the only arbitrary measure of which the people had reason to complain. The troops that had returned from the fruitless expedition against Cadiz were dispersed over the kingdom, and billeted upon private families, contrary to established custom, which required that they should be quartered at inns and public houses. And all persons of substance, who had refused or delayed the loan, were sure to be loaded with a disproportionate number of those disorderly guests; while people of inferior condition, who had shewn a refractory disposition,

14. Rushworth, vol. i.

15. 25 Edw. III. cap. iv. 28 Edw. III. cap. iii. 37 Edw. III. cap. xviii.
38 Edw. III. cap. ix. 42 Edw. III. cap. iii. 1 Richard II. cap. xii.

16. Rushworth, vol. i.

were pressed into the sea or land service¹⁷. Every one, in a word, seemed to feel the public grievances, and to execrate the oppressive spirit of administration, though passive obedience was strongly recommended from the pulpit: and the crimes and outrages committed by the soldiers, who had never been habituated to the restraints of discipline, contributed not a little to increase the general discontent.

In the midst of these alarming dissatisfactions and increasing difficulties, when baffled in every attempt against the dominions of the two branches of the house of Austria, and embroiled with his own subjects, what was the surprize of mankind to see Charles, as if he had not yet had enow of enemies, engage in a war against France! Unable to account for so extraordinary a measure, historians have generally ascribed it to an amorous quarrel between cardinal Richelieu and the duke of Buckingham, on account of a rival passion for the queen of France, and the encouragement which the duke had received, when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, which induced him to project a new embassy to that court, as I have formerly had occasion to relate¹⁸. But however that might be, Buckingham had other reasons for involving his master in a war with France.

One of the articles of impeachment against the duke, and that which had excited the greatest odium, was the sending of some English ships to assist the French king in subduing his Protestant subjects, who were in arms in defence of their religious liberties. To this impolitic, as well as inhuman measure, Buckingham had been seduced by a promise, that as soon as the Hugonots were reduced, Lewis XIII. would take an active part in the war against the house of Austria. But afterward, finding himself deceived by cardinal Richelieu, who had nothing in view but the aggrandisement of the French monarchy, he procured a peace for the Hugonots, and became security to them for its performance. That

17. Rushworth, vol. i.

18. Part I. Let. LXXIV.

peace, however, was not observed : Richelieu still meditated the utter destruction of the Protestant party in France. They were deprived of many of their cautionary towns, and forts were erecting to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark ¹⁹. The subjection of the Hugonots, it was readily foreseen, would render France more formidable to England than the whole house of Austria. Besides, if Charles and Buckingham should supinely behold their ruin accomplished, such a conduct would increase the popular discontents, and render the breach between the king and parliament irreparable. It was therefore resolved as the only means of recovering any degree of credit with the people, as well as of curbing the power of an ambitious rival, to undertake the defence of the Hugonots.

A negotiation was accordingly entered into with Soubise, brother to the duke of Rohan, the head of the Protestant party in France, who was at that time in London; and a fleet of an hundred sail, with an army of seven thousand men on board, was fitted out for the assistance of the Hugonots, under the command of the duke of Buckingham, the most unpopular man in the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with naval or military service. The fate of the expedition, as we have seen ²⁰, was such as might be expected from *his* management. When the fleet appeared before Rochelle, the inhabitants of that city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose arrival they were not apprised. Buckingham made a descent on the isle of Rhé; but took his measures so unskillfully, that he was able to make no impression on the principal fort; and the sea was so negligently guarded, that a French army stole over in small divisions, and obliged him to re-imbark, after losing near two-thirds of the land forces ²¹. With the wretched remnant he returned to England, totally discredited both as

19. See Part I. Lett. LXXIV. of this work, and the authors there cited.

20. Part I. ubi sup.

21. Rushworth, vol. i. Whitlocke, p. 8.

an admiral and general, and universally despised and detested as a minister.

The public grievances were now so great, that an insurrection was to be apprehended. The people were not only loaded with illegal taxes, but their commerce, which had been hurt by the Spanish, was ruined by the French war; while the glory of the nation was tarnished by unsuccessful enterprizes, and its safety threatened by the forces of two powerful monarchies. At such a season, Charles and Buckingham must have dreaded, above all things, the calling of a parliament; yet the improvidence of the ministry, the necessity of supply, and the danger of forcing another loan, obliged them to have recourse to that expedient. In order to wipe off, if possible, the popular odium from the duke, it was represented as his motion; and still farther to dispose the commons to co-operate with the minister, A. D. 1628. warrants were issued previous to their meeting, and sent to all parts of the kingdom, for the release of those gentlemen who had been confined on account of refusing to contribute toward the late loan. Their number amounted to seventy-eight, and many of them were elected members of the new parliament²².

When the commons assembled, the court perceived that they were men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and so opulent, that their March 17. property was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers²³. But although enraged at the late violations of public liberty, by personal injuries, and by the extreme folly with which public measures were conducted, to the disgrace, and even danger of the nation, they entered upon business with no less temper and decorum than vigour and ability. From a knowledge of the king's political opinions, as well as from his speech at their meeting, in which he told them, " that if they did not do their duty, in contri-

22. Rushworth, vol. i.

23. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. i.

“ been done, appears by the billeting of foldiers, a thing
 “ nowise advantageous to the king’s service, and a burden
 “ to the commonwealth ; by the imprifonment of gentlemen
 “ for refusing the loan ; yet who, if they had done the con-
 “ trary from fear, had been as blameable as the projectors
 “ of that oppreffive meafure. And to countenance thefe
 “ proceedings, hath it not been preached, or rather prated,
 “ in the pulpit, that all we have is the king’s by divine
 “ right ?”

“ I have read,” faid Sir Robert Philips, “ of a custom
 “ among the old Romans, that once every year they held a
 “ folemn festival, during which their flaves had liberty,
 “ without exception, to fpeak what they would, in order to
 “ eafe their afflicted minds ; and that, on the conclufion of
 “ the festival, they returned to their former abject condition.
 “ This may, with fome refemblance, and diftinction, well
 “ fet forth our prefent ftate. After the revolution of fome
 “ time, and the grievous fufferings of many violent oppref-
 “ fions, we have now, as thofe flaves had, a day of liberty
 “ of fpeech ; but we fhall not, I truft, be hereafter flaves,
 “ for we are BORN FREE ! Yet what illegal burdens our
 “ eftates and perfons have groaned under, my heart yearns
 “ to think, my tongue falters to utter.

“ The grievances by which we are oppreffed,” continued he, “ I draw under two heads ; acts of power againft law,
 “ and the judgments of lawyers againft our liberty.” He then mentioned three illegal judgments paffed within his memory ; that by which the Scots born after the acceffion of James I. were admitted to all the privileges of Englifh fubjects²⁴ ; that by which the new impositions had been warranted ; and that by which arbitrary imprifonments were authorifed. After this enumeration, he thus proceeded :

24. He pays the Scots a handsome compliment, at the fame time that he blames the act ;—“ a nation,” “ fays he, “ which I heartily love for their
 “ fingular good zeal in our religion, and their free fpirit to preferve liberty far
 “ beyond any of us.” *Parl. Hift.* vol. vii.

“ I can live, although another, who has no right, be put
 “ to live along with me : nay, I can live, though burdened
 “ with impositions beyond what at present I bear ; but to
 “ have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from
 “ me by power ; to have my person pent up in a goal, with-
 “ out remedy by law, and to be so adjudged—O improvident
 “ ancestors ! O unwise forefathers ! to be so curious in pro-
 “ viding for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liber-
 “ ties of parliament, and at the same time so negligent of
 “ our personal liberty ; to let us lie in prison, and that dur-
 “ ing pleasure without remedy or redress ! If this be law,
 “ why do we talk of liberties ? why trouble ourselves with
 “ disputes about a constitution, franchises, property in goods,
 “ and the like ? What may any man call his own, if not the
 “ liberty of his person ?

“ I am weary,” added he, “ of treading these ways, and
 “ therefore conclude to a select committee, in order to
 “ frame a petition to his majesty for redress of our griev-
 “ ances²⁵.” The same subject was pursued by Sir Thomas
 “ Wentworth, who exclaimed, “ We must vindicate !—
 “ What ! New things ?—No : our ancient legal, and vital
 “ liberties, by reinforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors !
 “ by setting such a stamp upon them, that no licentious spirit
 “ shall dare henceforth to invade them²⁶.”

The commons accordingly proceeded to frame a PETITION
 OF RIGHTS, as they chose to call it ; indicating by this
 name, that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the
 ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prero-
 gative, or acquisition of new liberties. And Charles, find-
 ing his threats had neither awed them into submission, nor
 provoked them to indecent freedom of speech, thought fit
 to send them a conciliating message ; intimating that he
 esteemed the grievances of the house his own, and stood not
 on precedence in point of honour. He therefore desired, that

25. Rushworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

26. Id. *ibid.*

the same committee, which was appointed for the redress of grievances, might also undertake the business of supply. Pleased with this concession, the commons voted him five subsidies; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he was well satisfied, and declared with tears of affection in his eyes, that, "he liked parliaments at first, though lately, "he knew not how, he had got a distaste of them, but was "now where he was before: he loved them, and should rejoice to meet his people again"²⁷."

When Charles made this declaration, he was not fully acquainted with the extent of the Petition of Right; and therefore afterwards attempted, by various means, to get it moderated, as well as to evade giving his assent to it in the usual manner. But as it was intimately connected with the vote of supply, which was altogether conditional, the king was at last obliged to give his solemn sanction to the bill. The delays, however, which he had interposed, and the seeming reluctance he discovered to ratify the rights of his people, deprived the extorted assent of all claim to merit in the eyes of the commons. They justly considered it as the effect of necessity, not complaisance, and became even more suspicious of the king's designs against the constitution. In consequence of this mode of thinking, they proceeded to require the redress of a number of inferior grievances, not mentioned in their petition; which provided only against forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, billeting soldiers, and martial law. And they took into consideration the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had not yet been granted by parliament. To levy this duty without their consent, they affirmed was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, in which those liberties were so lately confirmed²⁸. Alarmed at such an unexpected attack upon his prerogative, Charles came suddenly

27. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

28. *Rushworth*, vol. i.

to the parliament, and ended the session by a prorogation, in order to prevent the presenting of a remonstrance, which the house had prepared for his consideration ²⁹.

In hopes of conciliating the affections of his subjects, by making a popular use of the supply which they had granted him, as well as recovering the reputation of his arms, Charles turned his eyes, during the recess of parliament, toward the distressed protestants in France. Rochelle was now closely besieged by land, and a mole was erecting to cut off all communication with it by sea. To the relief of that place the

29. *Journ.* 26 June, 1628. Nothing tends more to excuse, if not to justify the extreme rigour of the commons against Charles, than his open encouragement of such principles as are altogether incompatible with a limited government. One Manwaring had preached a sermon, which the commons found upon inquiry, to be printed by special command of the king; and this sermon when examined, was observed to contain doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that, although property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet all property was transferred to the sovereign whenever any exigency required supply; that the consent of parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his people. (Rushworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii.) For these doctrines the commons impeached Manwaring; and the sentence pronounced against him by the peers was, That he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, be fined a thousand pounds to the king, make submission and acknowledgement for his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book should be called in and burnt. (*Id. ibid.*) But no sooner was the session ended than this man, so justly obnoxious to both houses of parliament, and to the whole nation, received a pardon; was promoted to a living of considerable value, and raised, some years after, to the see of St. Asaph. (Rushworth, vol. i.) Nor were Charles' arbitrary principles, like his father's, merely speculative. Among other grievances, which seemed to require redress, the commons applied for canceling a commission, granted to the principal officers of the crown, by which they were empowered to meet, and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise; and, "where *form* and *circumstance*," as expressed in the commission, "must be dispensed with rather than the *substance* be lost or hazarded." (*Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. Rushworth, vol. i) This, in a word, was a scheme for finding expedients, which might raise the prerogative to the greatest height, and render the parliament wholly unnecessary.

earl of Denbigh was dispatched, with ten ships of the line, and sixty transports and victuallers ; but by an unaccountable complication of cowardice and incapacity, if not treachery, he returned without so much as affording the besieged a supply of provisions. In order to wipe off this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham, whom we have already seen make so contemptible a figure as a commander, repaired to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army ; resolved once more to display his prowess on the coast of France, and defeat the ambitious designs of Richelieu, his competitor in love, in politics, and even in war³⁰.

But this enterprize was obstructed, and the relief of Rochelle prevented by one stroke of a desperate enthusiast, named Felton, who had served under Buckingham, in the station of a lieutenant, on his former expedition. Disgusted at being refused a company, on the death of his captain, who was killed in the retreat from the isle of Rhé, Felton had thrown up his commission, and retired from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his breast, he met with the remonstrance of the commons ; in which the man he hated was represented as the cause of all the grievances under which the nation groaned, but more especially of those relating to religion. Naturally vindictive, gloomy, and enthusiastical, he was led to suppose, that he should do an acceptable service to Heaven, at the same time that he gratified the impulse of his own envenomed heart, if he should dispatch this enemy of God and his country. Full of his purpose, he came to Portsmouth at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of perpetrating the bloody deed.

Such an occasion soon offered. While Buckingham was engaged in conversation with Soubise, and other French gentlemen, relative to the state of Rochelle, a difference of sen-

30. See Part I. Lett. LXXIV. of this work, and the authors there cited.

timent arose, which produced from the foreigners some violent gesticulations, and vehement exertions of voice, though nothing that could be seriously considered as an insult. Scarce was this conversation ended, when the duke, on turning round to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, was stabbed in the breast with a knife. "The villain has killed me!"—cried he, and pulling out the knife, expired without uttering another word. Nobody had seen the stab given; but every one concluded that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, the violence of whose voice and gestures had been remarked, while their words were not understood, by the by-standers. And in the first transports of revengeful rage, they would instantly have been put to death by the duke's attendants, if some men of temper and judgment had not happily interposed, though by no means convinced of their innocence.

Meantime a hat was found among the crowd, in the inside of which was sewed a paper containing part of the late remonstrances of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom; and, under that, a short prayer or ejaculation. It was immediately concluded, that the hat belonged to the assassin, but who he might be nobody could conjecture, as the writing did not discover his name; and every one conjectured that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat, the only circumstance that could lead to a discovery. In the midst of this anxious solicitation to apprehend the supposed fugitive, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly by the door near which the murder had been committed. "Here," exclaimed one of the company, "is the fellow who killed the duke!" and on hearing a general cry, "Where is he? where is he?" Felton firmly answered, "Here I am!"—He cheerfully exposed his breast to the drawn swords of the duke's officers; being desirous of falling a sacrifice to their fury, in order to avoid a public execution.

cution. And he persisted to the last in denying that he had any accomplice ³¹.

The king received the news of Buckingham's death with so little emotion, that his courtiers concluded he was secretly not displeased to get rid of a minister so generally odious to the nation. But this seeming indifference, 'as was afterwards discovered, proceeded only from the gravity and composure of Charles's mind; he being attached as much as ever to that worthless favourite, for whose friends, during his whole life, he retained an affection, and a prejudice against his enemies. He even urged that Felton should be put to the torture in order to extort a confession of his supposed accomplices; and was much chagrined, when the judges declared the practice to be unlawful, as well as the gratification of his request, that the criminal's right hand might be cut off before the execution of the sentence of death ³².

But Charles had public cares enow to divert his mind from private griefs. The projected mole being finished, Rochelle was now closely blockaded on all sides; yet the inhabitants, though pressed with the utmost rigours of famine, still refused to submit, in hopes of succour from England. On the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army destined for their relief, was given to the earl of Lindsey; who, on his arrival before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour. But that stupendous monument of Richelieu's genius was now fortified in such a manner as to render the design impracticable; and the wretched inhabitants, seeing all prospect of assistance cut off, were obliged to surrender, in view of the English fleet ³³.

31. Clarendon, vol. i.

32. Rushworth, vol. i. Whitlock, p. II.

33. Rushworth, vol. i.

L E T T E R IV.

ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, *from the Assassination of BUCKINGHAM to the Execution of the Earl of STRAFFORD, in 1641.*

THE failure of the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and the ruin of the Protestant cause in France, the immediate consequence of it, contributed much to
 A. D. 1629. increase the discontents of the English nation, and to diminish the authority of Charles I. On the meeting of parliament, the commons complained of many grievances, especially in regard to religion; and in order to obtain a redress of these, they resumed their claim to the right of granting tonnage and poundage. This duty, in more ancient times, had commonly been a temporary grant of the parliament; but since the time of Henry V. it had been conferred on every king during life. Each prince had claimed it from the moment of his accession, and it had been usually voted by the first parliament of each reign. Charles, during the short interval which passed between his accession and first parliament, had followed the example of his predecessors. Nor was any fault found with him for so doing. But the commons, when assembled, instead of granting this duty during the king's life, voted it only for a year¹; a circumstance which proves beyond controversy, that they had seriously formed a plan of reducing the king to a state of dependence. The peers, who perceived the purpose of the lower house, and saw that the duty of poundage was now become more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, rejected the bill. The parliament was soon after dissolved, without any other steps being taken in the business, by either party; and Charles continued to levy the duty, and the people to pay it in conformity with ancient usage.

¹ I. Journ. 5 July, 1625.

The subject, however, was so fully agitated by the succeeding parliament, that every one began to question the legality of levying tonnage and poundage, without the consent of the representatives of the people. Charles, not yet sufficiently tamed to compliance, boldly asserted his prerogative; and the commons, engaged in procuring redress of more pernicious grievances, had little leisure to attend to the infringement of so disputable a privilege. But no sooner had they obtained the king's assent to the Petition of Right, which afforded a remedy against the renewal of their most weighty grievances, than they took this matter into serious consideration. The king had obstructed their proceedings, by dissolving the parliament; but being now again assembled, they shewed their intention of extorting from the crown very large concessions, in return for the duty on tonnage and poundage.

Charles, who had foreseen these pretensions, took care very early to inform the parliament, "That he had not taken
" the duties of tonnage and poundage as pertaining to his
" hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and still is
" his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; that he
" pretended not to justify himself for what he had hitherto
" levied, by any right which he assumed, but only by the
" necessity of the case²." This concession, as a learned historian remarks, might have satisfied the commons, had they been influenced by no other motive, but that of ascertaining their own powers and privileges. But they had higher views; and insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that the king should, for a time, entirely desist from levying the duties in question, after which *they* would take into consideration the propriety of restoring such revenue to the crown.

The proud spirit of Charles could not submit to a rigour that had never been exercised against any of his predecessors.

² Rushworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii.

fors. Besides, he was afraid that the commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reduce him to perpetual dependence. He did not, however, immediately break with them on their delay of granting him the contested duties; but when, instead of listening to his earnest solicitations for supply, they proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was roused, and he dissolved the parliament, with a determined resolution never to call another, unless he should see indications of a more compliant disposition in the nation³.

The commons, on this occasion, behaved with great boldness. As soon as they had the first intimation of the king's design from the speaker, who immediately left the chair, they pushed him back into it; and two members held him there,

3 It is not at all surprising, that Charles should be enraged at this attempt of the commons to encroach on his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or that they should be desirous of abridging it, as it was then the only dangerous prerogative of the crown against which the Petition of Right had not planted a barrier. When the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over England was wrested from the see of Rome, the people had readily submitted to a jurisdiction no less arbitrary in the prince. Thus the king obtained a large addition of prerogative, being vested with the most absolute power in all affairs relative to the government of the church, and the conscience of the subject.

The high-commission court, or supreme ecclesiastical tribunal, was immediately under the direction of the crown. A conformity of religion was demanded over the whole kingdom; and every refusal of the established ceremonies, was liable to be punished by the court with deprivation, fines, confiscation, and imprisonment. Nor were the judges of the high-commission court obliged to proceed by legal information: rumour and suspicion were sufficient grounds. They were vested with inquisitorial powers, which were often exercised with unfeeling rigour, even during the reign of Elizabeth. Greater liberty, in ecclesiastical matters, was both demanded and allowed during the reign of James; but Charles, whose religion had a strong tincture of superstition in it, required a rigid conformity to the ancient ceremonies. Hence the struggle which the commons had hitherto maintained against the ecclesiastical authority of Charles, and the assert they made this session, to shew, that it must be subordinate to the power that created it, and the abuse of it liable to be corrected, and farther limited by the resolutions of parliament. *Sanderfon's Life of Charles I. Heylin's Life of Laud.*

until a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than by vote. In that remonstrance all who should seek to extend, or introduce, popery or Arminianism (lately imported from Holland, where we have formerly had occasion to mention its rise ⁴), were declared enemies to the commonwealth. All who should advise the levying of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament, were brought under the same description; and every merchant who should voluntarily pay these duties, not being granted by parliament, was to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to his country ⁵.

The discontents of the nation now rose higher than ever, on account of this violent breach between the king and parliament: and Charles's subsequent proceedings were ill calculated to appease them. He ordered those popular leaders, who had been most active in the late tumult in the house of commons, to be taken into custody. Some of them were fined, and condemned to find sureties for their good behaviour. But these severities served only to shew more conspicuously the king's disregard of the privileges of parliament, and to acquire a great stock of popularity to the sufferers, who unanimously refused to find the sureties demanded, or even to express their sorrow for having offended their sove-

4. Part. I. Lett. LXXIV. The difference between the Arminian doctrines and those of the established religion related chiefly to the tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, which had been every where embraced by the first reformers, and were still maintained in all their rigour by the Puritans. The Arminians, by asserting the freedom of the human will, and diffusing other rational opinions, had rendered themselves obnoxious to these violent enthusiasts. Their number in England was yet small; but, by the indulgence of James and Charles, some of that sect had obtained the highest preferments in the church. Laud, Neil, Montague, and other bishops, the chief supporters of episcopal government, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men and their disciples, in return for the favour shown them by the court, were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and an unconditional submission to princes. Hence the rage of the commons against a sect, whose theological tenets contain nothing inimical to civil liberty.

5. *Par. Hist.* vol. viii.

reign⁶; so desirous were they to continue their meritorious distress!

In the midst of so many domestic difficulties, and utterly destitute of money, it was impossible for any prince to conduct with vigour the operations of war. Sensible of this, Charles submitted to necessity, and concluded a peace with

A. D. 1630. France and Spain. The situation of his affairs

did not entitle him to demand from Lewis any conditions for the Hugonots, nor from Philip any stipulation in favour of the elector Palatine; yet he obtained from the latter a promise of his good offices toward the restoration of that unfortunate prince⁷. Thus was lost, through her internal dissensions, the happiest opportunity that England ever enjoyed, of humbling the house of Bourbon by means of its Protestant subjects, or of dismembering the Spanish monarchy by the assistance of France, and of acquiring a permanent superiority over both.

A cautious neutrality was henceforth the study of Charles, who had neither leisure nor inclination to interest himself farther in foreign affairs: happy in relinquishing every ambitious project, had he been able to recover the affections of his people, and the confidence of his parliament! But unfortunately, though possessed of many amiable and respectable qualities, both as a king and as a man⁸, and though he now adopted more moderate counsels than during the administration of Buckingham, he was never able to attain these desirable ends: a degree of jealous distrust remained. The causes and the consequences of this want of confidence it must now be our business to trace.

6. Whitlock, p. 13. Rushworth, vol. i. Kennet, vol. iii.

7. Rushworth, vol. ii.

8. He was an affectionate husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, and a true friend. His manner and address, though perhaps rather too stately, corresponded well with his natural gravity and reserve. He was not deficient in political knowledge; he possessed great moderation of temper; his taste in all the fine arts was correct, and his learning and literary talents were much beyond what are common to princes. *Sanderfon. Clarendon.*

The high idea that Charles entertained of his own authority, not only made him incapable of yielding to that bold spirit of liberty, which had diffused itself amongst his subjects, but to continue an invasion on their constitutional rights, whilst he thought himself only engaged in the defence of his own. He considered every petition of the commons as an attempt to encroach on his prerogative; and, even when he granted their requests, he disgusted them by his ungracious reluctance: he complied without obliging. His concessions were not received as marks of royal kindness; as indications of justice or generosity, but as so many sacrifices to necessity. The representatives of the people saw themselves, when assembled, regarded, merely in the light of tax-layers; and, therefore, resolved to make use of this power of withholding supplies, or administering to the necessities of the crown, in order to convince the king of their political consequence, as well as to obtain a ratification of their ancient rights. The royal authority was likewise too high, in ecclesiastical matters, for a limited government, being altogether absolute: the parliament had discovered an inclination to restrain it; the king had resented the affront by a dissolution; and thus was produced an incurable jealousy between the parties.

Other causes conspired to increase the jealousy of the nation in regard to religion. Charles, ever strongly attached to his queen, had favoured her with his whole friendship and confidence, after the death of Buckingham. Her sense and spirit entitled her to share his counsels, while her beauty justified his excessive fondness; but, as she was rather of a hasty temper, she sometimes precipitated him into rash measures; and her religion, to which she was much devoted, induced her to procure such indulgences for the Catholics as gave general dissatisfaction, and increased the odium against the court. Nor was this all. Laud, bishop of London, had acquired great influence over the king, and directed him in all ecclesiastical, and even in many civil affairs. Though a man of learning and virtue, he was a superstitious

bigot, zealously set on the exaltation of the priesthood, and on imposing on the obstinate Puritans, by the most rigorous measures, new ceremonies and observances, unknown to the church of England; and that too at a time when the ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed, and which had been hallowed by the practice of the first reformers, could with difficulty be retained in divine service. Yet this man, who, in the prosecution of his holy enterprize, overlooked all human considerations, and the heat and indiscretion of whose temper made him neglect the plainest dictates of prudence, was raised by Charles to the see of Canterbury, and invested with uncontrolled authority over the consciences of the people.

Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every superstitious ceremony enjoined by Laud and his brethren were suspended, and deprived of their benefices by the high-commission court; oaths were even imposed on churchwardens, binding them to inform against any one who acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canons; and all who did not conform to the new mode of worship, were treated with the utmost rigour. The religion which the archbishop wanted to establish, differed very little from that of the church of Rome. The Puritans therefore regarded him as the forerunner of Antichrist⁹.

Nor were the Puritans singular in this opinion. A court lady, daughter of the earl of Devonshire, having turned catholic, was asked by Laud her reason for changing her religion: "It is chiefly," answered she, "because I hate to travel in a *cruel*." The meaning of these words being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being jostled, I have gone before you." In a word, Laud's chief objection to popery seems to have been the supremacy of the Holy See, to which he did not chuse

to subject his metropolitan power. For although he himself tells us, "That," when offered a cardinal's hat by the pope, "something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome was other than it is," the genius of his religion appears to have been the same with the Romish. The same profound respect was exacted by him to the sacerdotal character: the same submission was required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils; the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship; and the same superstitious respect to days, postures, meats, and vestments¹⁰.

As a specimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud sacrificed the peace of the kingdom, it will be sufficient to relate those he employed in the consecration of St. Catharine's church. This church had been rebuilt by the parishioners, and profanely made use of, for some time, without the ceremony of a new consecration; a circumstance which coming to the superstitious prelate's ear, while bishop of London, filled him with horror, and made him suspend it from all divine service, until he had performed that holy office. On his approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, "Open! open! ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may enter in." The doors of the church instantly flew open; the bishop entered; and falling on his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms expanded, he exclaimed in a solemn tone, "This place is holy! the ground is holy! in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy!" Then going to the chancel, he several times took up some dust from the floor, and threw it in the air. When he approached the communion-table, he bowed frequently toward it. On returning, he and his attendants went round the church in a kind of procession, repeating the hundredth Psalm; and then said a form of prayer, concluding with these words: "We consecrate this church, and separate it

“ unto **THEE**, as holy ground, not to be profaned any more “ to common uses.” The bishop standing near the communion table, now denounced imprecations on all who should pollute that holy place, by matters of foulness, keeping in it profane law courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse, he bowed toward the east, and cried, “ Let all the people say Amen !” When the imprecations were ended, he poured out blessings on all who had any way contributed to the framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on those who had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. On the conclusion of every benediction, he also bowed toward the east, and cried. “ Let all the people say “ Amen !”

These ceremonies were followed by a sermon ; after which the bishop thus consecrated and administered the sacrament. As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences ; and coming up to that side of the table where the bread and wine were placed, he bowed seven times. After reading many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, fell back a step or two, and bowed three several times toward the bread ; then drew near again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before. He next laid hold of the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine ; then let it go, fell back, and bowed thrice toward it. He approached again, and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup ; but on seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, and bowed as before. He then received the sacrament, and administered it to others ; and the fabric being now supposed sufficiently holy, the solemnity of the consecration was concluded with many formal prayers &c. The same pious farce was repeated at the consecration of St. Giles’s in the

Fields, and on other occasions of a like nature, notwithstanding the scandal occasioned by the first exhibition¹². Opposition and general odium served only to increase the bishop's zeal for such superstitious mummeries, which were openly countenanced by the court.

In return for so much indulgence to the church, Laud and his followers took care, on every occasion, to magnify the royal authority, and made no scruple to treat with contempt all pretensions to a free or limited government. By these flatteries, and his original prepossessions, Charles was led to consider himself as the supreme magistrate to whom Heaven, by his birth-right, had committed the care of his people; whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, both spiritual and temporal, and who was vested with ample discretionary powers for that purpose. If the observance of ancient laws and customs was consistent with the present convenience of government, he judged it prudent to follow that rule, as the easiest, safest, and what would procure the most prompt and willing obedience; but when a change of circumstances, especially if derived from the obstinacy of the people, seemed to require a new plan of administration, national privileges he thought must yield to supreme power, and that no order of men in the state could be warranted in opposing the will of the sovereign, when directed to the public good¹³.

Charles, however, did not rest the support of that absolute dominion, which he thought he had a right to establish over the souls and bodies of his subjects, merely on the declamations of churchmen, or the intrigues of courtiers. He had recourse to that policy, which has often been so successfully pursued in later times, of employing the honours and offices of the crown, in order to draw off the parliamentary leaders from opposition, and to engage them in the defence of that

12. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 212, et seq.

13. Rushworth, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vi.

authority, which they shared, by becoming members of administration. Nor was the king disappointed in this first attempt to divide the force of the country-party. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a popular member of great abilities, whom he created earl of Strafford, became a firm pillar to the throne. Other parliamentary leaders were also drawn over to the court. Sir Dudley Diggs was created master of the rolls; Mr. Noy, attorney-general; and Mr. Litchton, solicitor-general¹⁴:

But the effect of this new political manœuvre was by no means such as might have been expected from it, or what has been common from like measures, in our days; a temporary reconciliation between the parties. The views of the king and parliament were now so repugnant to each other, that the leaders whom he had gained, though men of eminent talents and irreproachable character, lost all credit with their party from the moment of their defection. They were even pursued as traitors, with implacable hatred and resentment; and the king was so far from acquiring popularity by employing them, that he lost still farther, by that expedient, the confidence of the nation. It was considered as an insidious attempt to turn the emoluments of the state against itself, and the honours of the crown against the constitution; to unnerve, by corruption, the arm of liberty; and by means of apostate patriots, the most terrible instruments of tyranny, to complete the despotism of the prince and the slavery of the people.

Nor were these apprehensions altogether without foundation. As Charles had formed a resolution no more to assemble the commons, and even published a proclamation to that purpose, he was obliged to raise money for the support of government, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations of the rights of the subject. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied, according to the former arbitrary

¹⁴. Whitlock, p. 13.

impositions ; new imposts were even laid on several kinds of merchandize ; and the officers of the customs received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk or chest, and break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of such duties ¹⁵. The oppressive method of raising money by monopolies was revived ; the odious expedient of compounding with popish recusants became a regular part of the revenue ; several arbitrary taxes were imposed ; and, in order to facilitate these exactions, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom, many severe sentences were passed in the Star-chamber and High-commission courts. Some persons were fined ; some imprisoned ; and such as ventured to arraign the measures of the court, were condemned to stand in the pillory ¹⁶.

Seven years had Charles supported his government by arbitrary impositions, levied by means no less arbitrary, before he met with any vigorous opposition. At length John Hambden, a private gentleman, had the courage to set the crown at defiance, and make a bold stand in defence of the laws and the liberties of his country. Among other A. D. 1637. taxes, that of ship-money had been revived, and levied on the whole kingdom. This tax, intended for the support of the royal navy, and in itself moderate and equitable, was only exceptionable by being imposed without the consent of parliament ; and, in order to discourage all opposition on that account, the king had proposed, as a question, to the judges, “ Whether, in case of *necessity*, he might not, “ for the defence of the kingdom, impose such a tax ? and “ whether he was not the *sole judge* of that *necessity* ? ” The compliant judges answered in the affirmative, and the tax was generally paid. But Hambden, alike regardless of the opinion of the judges, and the example of others, resolved to hazard the issue of a suit, rather than tamely submit to

15. Rushworth, vol. ii.

16. Clarendon. vol. i. Rushworth, vol. ii.

the illegal imposition; and, although only rated at twenty shillings, to rick the whole indignation of royalty¹⁷.

This important cause was heard before all the twelve judges in the Exchequer-chamber. The pleadings lasted twelve days; and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety every circumstance of the trial. The issue was easily to be foreseen from the former opinion of the heads of the law; but it was not, on that account, considered as less momentous, or expected with less impatience.

In most national questions much may be said on both sides: but, on the present occasion, no legal argument of any weight was adduced by the crown-lawyers, though men of profound abilities; a strong presumption that none such existed. They only pleaded *precedent* and *necessity*. The precedents, when examined, were found to be by no means applicable to the case, and the necessity was denied. “King-land,” said Hambden’s counsel, “enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours; and, what farther secures her tranquillity, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves. The very writs, which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the idea of necessity: they assert only that the seas are infested by pirates; a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well wait a legal supply from parliament. And as to the pretension, that the king is the sole judge of the necessity; what is this, but to subject all the privileges, and all the property of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleasure? For the plea of *voluntary necessity* will warrant any other taxation as well as that of ship-money. And if such maxims and practices prevail, where is national liberty? What authority is left to the great Charter, that Palladium of the constitution? Or what to the Petition of Right, so lately enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature¹⁸?”

¹⁷. Rushworth, vol. ii. Whitlock, p. 4.

¹⁸. *State Trials*, vol. v.

The prejudiced or prostituted judges, notwithstanding these powerful arguments, gave sentence in favour of the crown. But Hambden obtained, nevertheless, by his trial, the end which he had proposed to himself. National questions were canvassed in every company; and the people, if not roused to active opposition, were at least awakened to a sense of the danger to which their liberty was exposed. "Slavish principles," it was said, "concurred with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gave aid to civil usurpation; iniquitous taxes were supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the foot of the throne. What though the personal character of the king, amid all his misguided counsels, might merit indulgence, or even praise? he was but one man; and the privileges of the people, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes¹⁹."

While the minds of men underwent this fermentation in England, a more dangerous spirit made its appearance in Scotland. We have already had occasion to trace the steps taken by James for introducing episcopacy into that kingdom. The same policy was pursued by his son Charles; who, in 1633, had paid a visit to his native country, and made a violent attempt to get his authority there acknowledged in ecclesiastical matters. He obtained an act of parliament vesting him with such authority; but as that act was known to have been extorted by the influence and importunity of the sovereign, contrary to the sentiments even of those who gave it their suffrage, it served only to inflame the jealousy, and rouse the resentment of the nation²⁰.

Nor will this opposition excite surprize, if we consider, that the ecclesiastical government, in Scotland, was believed to be totally independent of the civil. Christ, not the king

¹⁹. Hume, vol. vi.

²⁰. Burnet, *Hist. Own Times*, vol. i.

was regarded as the head of the church; consequently no act of parliament, nothing but the consent of the church itself, under the supposed illuminations of its Invisible Superior, could be sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. But, in direct contradiction to these old presbyterian maxims, James had introduced into Scotland the court of high-commission, at a time when its authority was become too grievous to be patiently borne in England; and now, by an extorted act of parliament, Charles openly discovered his intention of overturning the national religion, and of enforcing conformity to a new mode of worship, by means of this arbitrary tribunal.

The Scots were at no loss to discover the nature of the religion, which the king wanted to introduce. The jurisdiction of presbyteries, synods, and other democratical courts, was already in a manner abolished; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for two years back. It was evident that Charles, ambitious to complete the work so unwisely begun by his father, was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church of Scotland by the same absolute authority which he enjoyed in England, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. But the ardour of reformation was not yet sufficiently abated, among the Scots, to admit of such a change. They were still under the influence of the wildest enthusiasm; and that concurring with certain political considerations, not only obstructed Charles's favourite scheme of uniformity, but eventually ruined his authority in both kingdoms.

This prince, from the natural piety, or superstition of his temper, was slavishly attached to churchmen; and, as it is natural for all men to persuade themselves, that their interest coincides with their inclination, he had laid it down as a political canon, that to increase the power and civil influence of the ecclesiastical order, was the first duty of his govern-

government. He considered the episcopal clergy as the most faithful servants of the crown, and the great promoters of loyalty among the people. In consequence of this idea, some of the Scottish prelates were raised to the highest offices of the state; and an attempt was made to revive the first institution of the College of Justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority, as before the Reformation²¹. These innovations disgusted the high-minded nobility, who frequently found themselves insulted by the upstart bishops, whom they considered in the light of intruders, at the same time that they had the mortification to see themselves inferior in official consequence, and less regarded as the objects of royal favour. Selfishness completed that jealousy which ambition had begun. The Scottish nobility saw themselves ready to be deprived of those church-lands which they had so largely shared at the Reformation, in order to exalt still higher the consequence of the clergy; and therefore took part with the people and the presbyterian preachers, in opposing the king's plan of episcopacy, and spreading wide the alarm of popery²².

Meanwhile Charles, and his dignified ecclesiastics, were zealously employed in framing canons and a liturgy, for the use of a people who held both in abhorrence. The canons, which were promulgated in 1635, though received by the nation without much clamour or opposition, occasioned much inward apprehension and discontent. They were indeed of a most arbitrary and offensive nature, and highly grievous to a people jealous of their civil and religious liberties. They asserted, that the king's authority was absolute and unlimited; and they ordained, among many other things odious to Presbyterian ears, That the clergy should not pray extempore, but by the printed form prescribed in the liturgy; that no one should officiate as schoolmaster without a licence from the bishop of the diocese; nor any person be admitted

21. Guthrie's *Memoirs*.22. Burnet, *Hist. Own Times*, vol. i.

into holy orders, or allowed to perform any ecclesiastical function, without first subscribing those canons²³.

Even men of moderate principles, who could regard these ordinances with a degree of indifference, were filled with indignation at seeing a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent, either of church or state. They dreaded a like despotism in civil government: yet a seeming submission was paid to the king's authority, A.D. 1637. until the reading of the liturgy. It was chiefly July 23. copied from that of England, and consequently little exceptionable in itself. But this seemingly favourable circumstance was no recommendation to the Scots; who, proud of the purity of their worship, thought the English church still retained a strong mixture of Romish pollution. They therefore represented the new liturgy as a species of mas, though with less shew and embroidery; and when, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh arrayed in his surplice, opened the book, and began the service, the meaner part of the audience, but especially the women, raised a dreadful clamour, clapping their hands and exclaiming, "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! stone him! stone him!" And the tumult was so great, that it was found impossible to proceed with the service, until the most turbulent of the rioters were turned out of the church by the civil magistrates. The bishop, who had attempted in vain to appease them, was in danger of falling a sacrifice to their fury, in going home²⁴.

Though this tumult appeared to have been conducted only by persons of low condition, the sense of the nation was well known; so that it was not thought advisable to hazard a new insult by a second attempt to read the liturgy. But as the king, contrary to all the maxims of sound policy, and even of common sense, remained inflexible in his pur-

23. Fuller's *Church Hist.* Burnet's *Mem. of the House of Hamilton.*

24. King's *Declaration.* Rushworth, vol. ii. Burnet's *Mem.*

pose of imposing such a mode of worship on his Scottish subjects, new tumults arose; and the people flocked from every part of the kingdom to Edinburgh, in order to oppose so obnoxious a measure. Men of all ranks and conditions joined in petitions against the liturgy: the pulpits resounded with vehement declamations against Antichrist; and the populace, who had first opposed the new service, was ingeniously compared by the preachers to Balaam's Ass, an animal stupid in itself, but whose mouth the Lord had opened, to the admiration of the whole world²⁵. Fanaticism, in a word, mingling with faction, and private interest with the spirit of liberty, produced symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection; yet Charles, as if under the influence of a blind fatality, though fully informed of the disorders in Scotland, obstinately refused to desist from his undertaking, notwithstanding the representations of his ablest ministers, and most faithful servants in that kingdom.

But what renders this obstinacy still more inexcusable, and makes the king's conduct appear altogether inexplicable is, that, while he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of Scotland as the church-lands, from powerful nobles, by no means willing to relinquish them, and was attempting to change the whole civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom, he raised no forces to carry his violent designs into execution! The Scots saw the weakness of his administration, at the same time that they had reason to complain of its rigour: and on a proclamation being issued, containing a pardon for all past offences, and exhorting them peaceably to submit to the liturgy, they entered into a civil and religious convention, generally known by the name of the COVENANT, which proved an effectual barrier against all regal encroachments.

In this convention were comprehended all orders of men in the state, divided into different tables or classes; one table

25. King's Declaration,

consisting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of clergy, and a fourth of burgesses. In the hands of commissioners, chosen from these four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. The articles of their Covenant consisted, first of a renunciation of popery, formally signed by the late king in his youth; then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist innovations in religion, and to defend each other against all violence and oppression²⁶. And as every thing was pretended to be done by the Covenanters for the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the advantage of their country, people of all ranks, without distinction of age or sex, crowded to subscribe the Covenant. Even the king's ministers and counsellors were seized with the general frenzy²⁷.

Charles, who now began to apprehend the consequences of such a powerful combination, dispatched the marquis of of Hamilton into Scotland, with authority to treat with the Covenanters. He offered to suspend the canons and liturgy, until they could be received in a fair and legal way; and to model the court of high-commission, that it should no longer give offence. But he required in return for these concessions, a renunciation of the Covenant. The Covenanters, who carried much higher their pretensions, and found themselves seconded by the zeal of the whole nation, replied, that "they would sooner renounce their baptism than the Covenant!" and the ministers invited the commissioner to subscribe it, telling him "with what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people"²⁸.

Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey to Edinburgh, with new concessions: returned a second time to London; and was again sent back, with con-

26. Rushworth, vol. ii. Burnet's *Mem.* King's *Declaration*.

27. Burnet, *ubi sup.*

28. King's *Declaration*. Rushworth, vol. ii.

cessions yet more ample. Charles now consented utterly to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the court of high-commission; but he would not agree to abolish episcopacy, which he thought as essential to the very being of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. This narrowness of mind, which we must pity rather than condemn, proved the ruin of the negociation. The king had impowered Hamilton, however, to propose the summoning of the general assembly of the church, and the parliament, by which every grievance might be redressed; an offer which was readily embraced by the Covenanters, who were well assured of their superior influence in both.

The first object that engaged the attention of the general assembly, where, besides a vast multitude of the populace, all the Scottish nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, was an act for the utter abolition of episcopacy. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; and the commissioner dissolved it, in his majesty's name, after declaring it illegally constituted. But this measure, though unforeseen, was little regarded: the members continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, were declared null and void, as being procured by the arbitrary influence of the sovereign; and the acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were considered, on the same account, as of no authority.²⁹ Thus episcopacy, the court of high-commission, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished, and declared unlawful. Every thing, in a word, which, during a long course of years, James and Charles had been labouring with such care and policy to rear, was thrown at once to the ground! and the Covenant, so obnoxious to the crown and

A. D. 1639.

²⁹ King's Declaration. Burnet's Mem. Rushworth, vol. ii.

hierarchy, was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to be signed by every one³⁰.

After having taken these bold steps, it became necessary for the Scottish malcontents to maintain their religious opinions by military force; especially as they had good reason to believe, that, however just their resolutions might appear to themselves, they would not be assented to by the king. Although they did not despair of supernatural assistance, they therefore thought it would be imprudent to slight the arm of flesh. Their measures, dictated by vigour and ability, were indeed alike distinguished by their wisdom and promptitude; and such as might have been expected from a regularly established commonwealth, rather than a tumultuous convention. The whole kingdom being in a manner engaged in the Covenant, men of talents soon acquired that ascendant to which their natural superiority entitled them, and which their family-interest or their character enabled them to maintain. The earl of Argyle, well calculated to make a figure during such a turbulent period, took the lead; and the earls of Rothes, Cassils, Montrose, Lothian, with the lords Lindsey, Loudon, Yester, and Balmerino, distinguished themselves in the cause. A number of Scottish officers, who had acquired reputation in Germany, during the religious wars, but particularly under Gustavus Adolphus, were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. And the chief command was entrusted to Lesley, earl of Leven, an officer of experience and ability. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined; arms were imported from foreign countries; some castles belonging to the king were seized; and the whole country, except a small part, where the marquis of Huntley still supported the royal authority, was reduced under the power of the Covenanters³¹.

30. King's Declaration.

31. May's History of the Parliament of England. Burnet's Mem.

Charles, whose affection to his native kingdom was strong, but whose attachment to the hierarchy was yet stronger, hastened his military preparations for subduing the refractory spirit of the Scots, and re-establishing episcopacy. A formidable fleet, with five thousand troops on board, was entrusted to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail for the frith of Forth, and attempt to divide the forces of the Covenanters; and an army of near twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, was levied, and put under the command of the earl of Arundel. The earl of Essex was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horse. The king himself joined the army, and summoned all the peers of England to attend him. Many of them repaired to the camp, which had more the appearance of a splendid court than of a military armament. With part of this pompous rather than formidable force, Charles arrived at York, while Essex advanced and took possession of Berwick ³².

The army of the Covenanters was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers, however, had more experience: and the soldiers, though newly raised, and but indifferently armed, were animated by the strongest motive that can stimulate men to action—zeal for the preservation of their civil and religious liberties. Yet so prudent were their leaders, who wished to avoid hostilities, that they immediately sent submissive messages, and craved leave to be permitted to treat with the king. It was now a very difficult matter for Charles to determine how to act. He was sensible that, while the force of the Covenanters remained unbroken, their spirits high, and their ardour unabated, no reasonable terms could be expected from them; and should he submit to their pretensions, not only prelacy must be sacrificed to their fanaticism, but regal authority itself would become a mere shadow in Scotland. On the other hand,

32. Clarendon, vol. i.

the consequences of a defeat, while Scotland was in arms, and England dissatisfied, were too dreadful to permit him to hazard a battle: the utter loss of his authority in both kingdoms was to be feared. Besides, had he been inclined to rely on the bravery of his English subjects, they discovered no inclination to act offensively against the Scots; whose necessity of rising they pitied, and whose independent spirit they admired. The sympathy of civil and religious grievances had subdued all national animosity in their hearts.

It seemed, however, essential for the king's safety, that he should take a decided part; that he should either confide in the valour and generosity of the English nation, and attempt to bring the Scots under submission; or openly and candidly grant the Covenanters such conditions as would exclude all future cause of complaint, and render rebellion inexcusable. Unfortunately, in deliberating between these two resolutions, Charles embraced neither; but concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots, within eight and forty hours, should dismiss their forces; that the forts taken by the Covenanters should be restored, the royal authority acknowledged, and the general assembly and parliament summoned, in order to **compose all differences** ³³.

The consequences were such as might be expected from so injudicious a negotiation. The pretensions of the Scots agreed so ill with the concessions which the king was willing to make, that their parliament was prorogued, when proceeding to ratify some obnoxious acts of assembly; and the war was renewed, with great advantages on the side of the Covenanters. Charles's necessities had obliged him to disband his forces, immediately after the unmeaning pacification; and, as the English nation discovered little inclination to engage in the quarrel, it was impossible to assemble a new army without great expence, as well as loss of time.

33. Rushworth, vol. iii.

The more provident Covenanters, who foresaw the probability of their being again obliged to support their pretensions by arms, were careful in dismissing their troops, to take such measures as made it easy for them to collect their strength. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons, and the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion. Pious zeal made both watchful; and no sooner was the trumpet sounded, by their spiritual and temporal leaders, than all ranks of men repaired to their military stations, and cheerfully took the field once more, in defence of their civil and religious liberties ²⁴.

The king, at length, got together a body of troops; but he soon discovered, that his greatest difficulty yet remained: his revenues were insufficient to support them. How to proceed, in such an emergency, was a question not easy to be determined. After the many irregular methods of taxation which had been tried, and the multiplied disgusts thereby given to the puritanical party, as well as by A. D. 1640. the management of religion, little could be expected from an English parliament. Yet to that humiliating expedient the proud spirit of Charles was obliged to stoop, as the only means of obtaining supply; and after a contemptuous intermission of eleven years, to summon the great council of the nation, and throw himself on the generosity of his insulted commons. The commons, as might have been expected, insisted that the redress of grievances should be taken into consideration before they entered on the business of supply. This, they affirmed, was conformable to the ancient usage of parliament, and founded on a jealousy inherent in the constitution; that the necessity pleaded was purely ministerial, not national: for, if the same grievances, under which England laboured, had pushed the Scots to extremities, was it incumbent on the English to forge their own chains by imposing chains on their neighbours? Dis-

gusted with these reasonings, and finding his friends in the house outnumbered by his enemies, Charles, by the advice of archbishop Laud and the marquis of Hamilton, formed and executed the desperate resolution of dissolving the parliament³⁵. The marquis is supposed to have been secretly a friend to the Covenanters.

Thus disappointed of parliamentary aid, the king, in order to satisfy his urgent wants, was obliged to have recourse to a method of supply which must have been very grating to a generous mind. Beside laying a heavy hand upon the clergy, he was under the necessity of borrowing large sums from his ministers and courtiers; and so much was he beloved by them, that the loan greatly exceeded his expectation. They subscribed above three hundred thousand pounds in a few days. By these means, he was enabled to march his army northward. It consisted of nineteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland acted as commander in chief; the earl of Strafford, as lieutenant-general; and lord Conway, as general of the horse³⁶.

The army of the Covenanters, though more numerous, was sooner ready, and had marched to the borders of England; in consequence of a letter forged by lord Savile, in the name of six English noblemen of distinction, inviting the Scots to assist their neighbours in procuring a redress of their grievances³⁷. But notwithstanding their force, and this encouragement, they still preserved the most submissive language; and entered England, as they declared, with no other view but to obtain access to the king's person, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. They were opposed in their march, at Newburn upon Tyne, by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men, under lord Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots, after entreating liberty to pass

35. Clarendon, vol. i. Burnet's *M-m.*

36. Rushworth, vol. iii.

37. Nalson, vol. iii. Burnet, *Hist.* vol. i.

unmolested, attacked their opponents with great bravery; killed several of them, and chased the rest from their ground³⁸. In consequence of this unexpected advantage, the whole English army was seized with a panic: the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham; and not thinking themselves safe even there, retreated with precipitation into Yorkshire³⁹.

The victorious Covenanters took possession of Newcastle, though without offering any violence to the persons or property of the inhabitants. They not only preserved the most exact discipline, but persevered so far in maintaining the appearance of an amicable disposition toward England, that they paid for their very provisions; and they sent messengers to the king, who was now arrived at York, to renew their protestations of loyalty and submission, and to beg forgiveness for the unavoidable effusion of the blood of his English subjects⁴⁰. Charles understood the hypocritical insult, but his circumstances did not permit him to resent it. The nation was universally and highly dissatisfied: the army was discouraged, the treasury exhausted, the revenue anticipated; and every expedient for supply, that ingenuity could suggest, had been tried to the utmost. In this extremity, as the least of two evils, the king agreed to a treaty, in order to prevent the Scots from advancing upon him; and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon. The result of their deliberations was a cessation of arms; in consequence of which the Scots were to be allowed, for their maintenance, eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, during their stay in England⁴¹.

It may be worthy of remark, that the earl of Strafford, who had succeeded Northumberland in the command of the army, and who possessed more vigour of mind than the king

38. Clarendon, vol. i. 39. This panic was chiefly occasioned by an unexpected discharge of artillery. Burnet, *Hist.* vol. i.

40. Rushworth, vol. iii. 41. Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. iii.

or any of the council, advised Charles to put all to the hazard of a battle, rather than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him; "for, should your majesty even be defeated, nothing worse can befall you," observed his lordship, "than what from your inactivity you will certainly feel"⁴²!" These prophetic words seem to have been dictated by the most infallible of all inspiration, that intuitive discernment of a penetrating genius, habituated to the contemplation of human affairs, which enables it to look into futurity.

The causes of disgust which had, for above thirty years, been every day multiplying in England, were now arrived at their height; and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last resolved to yield to it. He therefore, in compliance with a number of petitions, and the general wish of his subjects, again assembled the parliament. Many exorbitant claims, he was sensible, would probably be made, and must necessarily be complied with. But he little expected that great and decisive blow, which, on the meeting of parliament, was aimed at his authority, by the commons, in the person of his *minister*, the earl of Strafford; for as such that nobleman was considered, both on account of the credit which he possessed with the king, and of his own extensive and vigorous capacity. Not unacquainted with the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, Strafford would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and begged permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, being then lord-lieutenant, or at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire. But the king, judging his presence and counsels necessary at such a crisis, assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament⁴³. So confident was Charles still of his own authority, though ready to expire, and so lofty were his ideas of the majesty of kings!

42. Nalson, vol. ii.

43. Whitlocke.

The commons thought less respectfully of it. No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him by Mr. Pym; who, after enumerating all the grievances under which the nation laboured, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed under the reign of a pious and virtuous king, for changing totally the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "We must enquire," added he, "from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and though doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who claims the guilty pre-eminence: HE is the earl of Stafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York; a man, who, in the memory of many present, has sat in this house, an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people. But it is long since he turned from these good affections; and, according to the custom of *apostates*, he is become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age hath ever produced."

This political apostacy of Strafford seems, indeed, to have been his chief crime with the popular leaders, and never to be expiated but with his blood. Pym was seconded in his charge by Sir John Hotham, Sir John Clotworthy, and others; and, after several hours spent in bitter invectives against the supposed criminal (the doors being locked to prevent a discovery of the concerted purpose), it was moved, That the earl of Strafford should be accused of high-treason. The motion was received with general approbation, and the impeachment was voted without much debate. Mr. Pym was chosen to carry it up to the lords: most of the members attended him; and Strafford, who had just entered the house of peers, and intended, it is said, the same day to have impeached

some popular members of both houses, for holding a treasonable correspondence with the Scots, was suddenly ordered into custody, with many symptoms of prejudice in his judges as well as his accusers ⁴⁵.

Elated with their success, the popular leaders ventured also to impeach archbishop Laud, the lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windebank ⁴⁶. The two last made their escape beyond sea, before they were taken into custody: the primate was committed. From *traitors*, the commons proceeded to the prosecution of *delinquents*; a term expressive of a degree and species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained, but which, by the interpretation then put upon it, exposed to punishment not only the king's ministers and counsellors, but many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy. All, in a word, however warranted by precedent or proclamation, who had acted without the authority of the statute-law of the land ⁴⁷.

The commons took other steps of more importance. They declared the sanction of the two houses of parliament, as well as of the king, necessary to the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons: they expelled from their house all monopolists; and committees were appointed to inquire into all the violations of law and liberty, of which any complaint had been made. From the reports of these committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, at the same time that they animated and inflamed the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hamblen was cancelled; compositions for knight-hood were stigmatized; the extension of the forest-laws

45. Clarendon, vol. i.

46. Grimstone, a popular member, called Sir Francis Windebank, who was one of Laud's creatures, "the very pander and broker to the whore of 'Babyn'!" (Rushworth, vol. v.) Nothing can shew in a stronger light the illiberal way of thinking, and narrow prejudices of the times, than the use of such expressions, in the house, on so great an occasion.

47. Clarendon, vol. i.

condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every measure of administration for some years back was treated with reproach and obloquy ⁴⁸.

All moderate men were now of opinion, that a design was formed to subvert the monarchy ⁴⁹; and the church was in no less danger. While the harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration, the pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, refounded with faction and fanaticism: and the popular leaders, in order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, and inspire confidence into their friends, as well as to overawe their opponents, judged it requisite still to delay the departure of the Scots. Meantime the chaplains to their commissioners began openly to use the presbyterian form of worship, which had not hitherto been tolerated in England, and with such amazing success in London, that multitudes crowded not only into the church assigned them, but such as could not there find room clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching at least the distant murmur, or some broken phrases of the spiritual rhetoric ⁵⁰.

This was the most effectual method of paying court to the zealous Covenanters. To spread the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England, and to establish that faith on the ruins of episcopacy, would have given more joy to

48. Nalson, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. iii.

49. "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," said Charles, in a speech to the parliament; "a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust, which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire; so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from being the intention of the commons. The machine they thought, with some reason, was encumbered with many wheels and springs, which counteracted its operations, and destroyed its utility. Hume, chap. liv.

50. Clarendon, vol. i.

their godly hearts than the temporal conquest of the kingdom; and the hour was fast approaching, when that joy was to be their's. The puritanical party among the commons, emboldened by their successes in civil matters, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. Every day produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops; and so highly disgusted were all the lovers of liberty at the political doctrines propagated by the clergy, that no distinction, for a time, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and such as wanted totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction⁵¹.

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the established church were framed in different parts of the kingdom; and the epithet of the *ignorant or scandalous* priesthood, was commonly applied to all churchmen; although the episcopal clergy in England during that age, seem to have been sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen of the committee of religion, said to be signed by seven hundred puritanical ministers. But the petition which made the greatest noise, was that from the city of London, for a total alteration of church-government, and to which sixteen thousand names were annexed⁵².

The popular leaders, notwithstanding these indications of a fanatical disposition in the people, and though generally disaffected against episcopacy, resolved to proceed with caution, and overturn the hierarchy by degrees. With this view, they introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office. The bishops, of course, were to be deprived of their seats in the house of peers; a measure very acceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who had observed with regret the devoted obsequiousness of the ecclesiastical order to the will of the monarch.

51. Hume, vol. vi.

52. Clarendon, vol. ii.

Charles, who had hitherto remained wholly passive, during all the violent proceedings of the present parliament, was now roused by the danger that threatened his favourite episcopacy; which was, indeed, the great pillar of the throne. He sent for the two houses to Whitehall, and told them, that he intended to reform all innovations in church and state, and to reduce matters of religion and government to what they were in the purest times of queen Elizabeth⁵³. "But some men," said he, "encouraged by the sitting of this parliament, more maliciously than ignorantly, put no difference between *reformation* and *alteration* of government."

"Though I am for the former, added he, "I cannot give way to the latter. I will not say that bishops may not have overstretched their spiritual power, or encroached upon the temporal; which, if you find, correct and reform the abuse, according to the wisdom of former times: and so far I am with you. Nay, farther: if, upon serious debate, you shall shew me, that bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient to the state, and not necessary to the church for the support of episcopacy, I shall not be unwilling to persuade them to lay it down. Yet by this, you must understand, that I cannot consent to the taking away of their *voice in parliament*; a privilege which they have anciently enjoyed under so many of my predecessors, even before the Conquest, and ever since, and which I conceive I am bound to maintain, as one of the fundamental institutions of this kingdom⁵⁴."

The king, however, was soon freed from all immediate apprehensions on this subject by the peers, a great majority

53. If the majority of the commons, or at least of the leading men among them, had not been resolved on the total overthrow of the church and monarchy, a fair opportunity was here afforded them of effecting a thorough reconciliation of parties, by a temperate reformation of civil and ecclesiastical abuses.

54. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix.

of whom rejected the bill. But the puritanical party among the commons, in order to shew how little they were discouraged, brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy; and although they thought proper to let it rest for a while, their purpose was not the less sincere. Other matters demanded their present attention. They got an act passed, and without any hesitation on the part of the king, declaring it unlawful to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament; after which, they brought in a bill to prevent the discontinuance of parliaments for above three years.

Though by this bill some of the noblest and most valuable privileges of the crown were retrenched, such a law was indispensably necessary for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. "Let no man," said the spirited and artful Digby, who knew well the importance of the bill, "object any derogation from the king's prerogative by it. His honour, his power, will be as conspicuous in commanding that a parliament shall assemble every third year, as in commanding a parliament to be called this or that year. There is more majesty in ordaining primary and universal causes, than in actuating subordinate effects. In chusing ill ministers," added he emphatically, "we do but dissipate clouds that may gather again: but, in voting this bill, we shall perpetuate our sun, our sovereign, in his vertical, his noon-day lustre." Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, gave his reluctant assent to the bill.

The victory of the commons was now complete; and had they used it with moderation, the members of this parliament would have merited the praise of all sincere lovers of their country, as well as of the enthusiasts of liberty. Nor would their subsequent abolition of the arbitrary courts of the Star-chamber and High-commission, so grievous to

the nation, be imputed to them as cause of blame. But their cruel persecution of Strafford, and their future encroachments upon the king's authority, which made resistance a virtue, and involved the three kingdoms in all the horrors of civil war, must make their patriotism very questionable in the opinion of every dispassionate man. Their unjustifiable encroachments on the authority of Charles, we shall afterwards have occasion to consider: here we must examine the progress of their vengeance against his minister; whose high reputation, for experience and capacity, made them regard his death as their only security for success in their farther attacks upon the throne.

In consequence of this idea, the impeachment of Strafford had been pushed on with the utmost vigour. Immediately after he was sequestered from parliament and confined in the Tower, a committee of thirteen was chosen by the commons, and intrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. This committee, assisted by a few peers, was vested with authority to examine all witnesses, to call every paper, and to use any means of scrutiny, in regard to any part of the earl's behaviour or conduct⁵⁶: and, as a profound historian remarks, after so general and unbounded an inquisition, exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies, a man who had acted in a variety of public stations must have been very cautious or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his proceedings, some matter of accusation against him⁵⁷.

Nothing, however, was found against Strafford that could by any means be brought under the description of treason; a crime which the laws of England had defined with the most scrupulous exactness, in order to protect the subject against the violence of the king and his ministers. Aware of this, the commons attempted to prove against the prisoner, "an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of

⁵⁶ Clarendon, vol. i.

⁵⁷ Hume, *Hist. Eng.* chap. lvi.

the kingdom⁵⁸ :” and as the statute of treason makes no mention of such a species of guilt, they invented
 A. D. 1641. a kind of accumulative, or constructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in an inferior degree, shall, when united, amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law; the king and parliament, as they asserted, having power to determine what is treason, and what not. The accordingly voted that the facts proved against the earl of Strafford, taken collectively, were treasonable⁵⁹.

Strafford defended himself with firmness and ability. After pleading to each particular article of the charge, he brought the whole together, in order to repel the imputation of treason. “Where,” said he, “has this species of guilt been so long concealed? Where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear, till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and, by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourselves the best we can to the arbitrary will of a master, than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last, that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of until the very moment of prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy to give me warning, the party shall pay me damages: but if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? where the token by which I should discover it? It has lain

58. Rushworth, vol. iv.

59. Rushworth, vol. iv. As a proof how far the popular leaders were hurried away by their vindictive passions, it will be sufficient to quote the speech of Mr. St. John, who affirmed that Strafford had no title to plead law, because he had endeavoured to destroy the law. “It is true,” said he, “we give law to hares and deers; for they are beasts of chase: but it was never accounted cruel, or untor, to destroy foxes and wolves, wherever they can be found; for they are beasts of prey!” Clarendon, vol. i.

“ concealed under water ; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could teach me to avoid it, or save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened.

“ It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons were defined ; and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myself. We have lived, my Lords, happy to ourselves at home ; we have lived gloriously abroad to the world : let us be content with what our fathers left ; let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence for yourselves, for your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you, into the fire, these bloody and mysterious volumes of *arbitrary* and *constructive treasons*, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the *statute*, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it.

“ Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have lain for so many ages by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions add not this, my lords, the most severe of any ; that I for my own sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country. These gentlemen at the bar, however, say they speak for the commonwealth ; and they may believe so : yet, under favour, it is I who, in this particular, speak for the commonwealth. Precedents like those which are endeavoured to be established against me, must draw along with them such inconveniences and miseries, that, in a few years, the kingdom would be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV. *no man shall know by what rule to govern his words or actions.*

“ Impose not, my Lords, difficulties insurmountable upon

“ ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with
 “ chearfulness their king and country. If you examine
 “ them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by
 “ every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable: the
 “ public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; for no
 “ wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will
 “ ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown
 “ perils,

“ My Lords, I have now troubled your lordships too
 “ long; a great deal longer than I should have done, were
 “ it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a saint
 “ in heaven has left me. I should be loth”—Here his grief
 deprived him of utterance. He let fall a tear, pointed to his
 children, who were placed near him, and thus proceeded;
 —“ What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; but that my indif-
 “ cretion should forfeit for them, I confess, wounds me
 “ very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity”
 —again dropping a tear. “ Something I should have added,
 “ but find I shall not be able, and therefore shall leave it.
 “ And now, my Lords, I thank God, I have been, by his
 “ good blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity
 “ of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance
 “ of our eternal duration; and so, my Lords, even so, with
 “ all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit,
 “ clearly and freely, to your judgments: and whether that
 “ righteous doom shall be life or death, I shall repose myself,
 “ full of gratitude and confidence in the arms of the great
 “ Author of my existence ⁶⁰.”

Certainly, says Whitlocke, never any man acted such a
 part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and
 eloquence: with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and
 with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this
 great and excellent person: and he moved the hearts of all his
 auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity ⁶¹. It is

⁶⁰. Rushworth, vol. iv.

⁶¹. Mem. p. 43.

truly remarkable, that the historian, who makes these candid and liberal observations, was himself chairman of that committee, which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate nobleman!

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days; and Strafford behaved with so much modesty and humility, as well as firmness and vigour, that the commons, though aided by all the weight of authority, would have found it impossible to obtain a sentence against him, if the peers had not been over-awed by the tumultuous populace. Reports were every day spread of the most alarming plots and conspiracies; and about six thousand men, armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and surrounded the two houses of parliament. When any of the lords passed, the cry for *justice* against Strafford resounded in their ears; and such as were suspected of friendship for that obnoxious minister, were sure to meet with menaces, accompanied with symptoms of the most desperate intentions in the furious multitude ⁶². Intimidated by these threats, only forty-five, out of about eighty peers, who had constantly attended this important trial, were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house, and nineteen of that number had the courage to vote against it ⁶³; a strong presumption that, if no danger had been apprehended, it would have been rejected by a considerable majority.

Popular violence having thus far triumphed, it was next employed to extort the king's consent. Crowds of people besieged Whitehall, and seconded their demand of justice on the minister, with the loudest clamours, and most open threatenings against the monarch. Rumours of plots and conspiracies against the parliament were anew circulated; invasions and insurrections were apprehended; and the whole nation was raised into such a ferment, as seemed to portend some great and immediate convulsion. On which side soever

62. Clarendon, vol. i.

63. Whitlocke, p. 43.

the king turned his eyes, he saw no resource or security, except in submitting to the will of the populace. His courtiers, consulting their own personal safety, and perhaps their interest, more than their master's honour, advised him to pass the bill of attainder; the pusillanimous judges, when consulted, declared it legal; and the queen, who formerly bore no good will toward Strafford, alarmed at the appearance of so frightful a danger, as that to which the royal family must be exposed by protecting him, now became an importunate solicitor for his death. She hoped, if the people were gratified in this demand, that their discontents would finally subside; and that, by such a measure, she should acquire a more absolute ascendant over the king, as well as some credit with the popular party. Bishop Juxon alone, in this trying extremity, had honesty or courage to offer an opinion worthy of his prince: he advised him if, in his conscience, he did not think the prisoner criminal, by no means to give his assent to the bill ⁶⁴.

While Charles was all anxiety and irresolution, struggling between virtue and necessity, he received a letter from Strafford, intreating him, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to the innocent life of his unhappy servant; and thus to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them that request for which they were so clamorous. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides: to a willing man there is no in-

64. Clarendon, vol. i. This opinion has been cavilled at. "A king of England," it has been said, "ought never to interpose his private opinion against the other parts of the legislature." If so, the royal assent is a matter of mere form; and perhaps, in most cases, it ought to be so. But, in the present instance, the king was surely the best judge, whether Strafford, as a minister, had advised the subversion of the constitution; or, as an officer, had exceeded the extent of his commission: and, if he was blameable in neither capacity, Charles was surely bound, both in honour and conscience, to withhold his assent from the bill. The royal assent is not now necessary to bills of attainder; the jealousy of our constitution having cut off that, among other dangerous prerogatives.

“jury⁶⁵. And as, by God’s grace, I forgive all the world,
 “with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to
 “my dislodging soul; so to you, Sir, I can resign the life of
 “this world with all imaginable cheerfulness in the just ac-
 “knowledge of your exceeding favours⁶⁶.”

This illustrious effort of disinterestedness, worthy of the noble mind of Strafford, and equal to any instance of generosity recorded in the annals of mankind, was ill rewarded by Charles; who, after a little more hesitation, as if his scruples had been merely of the religious kind, granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. These commissioners were also empowered, at the same time, to give assent to a bill, that the parliament then sitting should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without the consent of the majority of the members⁶⁷; a bill of yet more fatal consequence to his authority than the other, as it rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as well as uncontrollable. But in the moment of remorse for assenting to the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himself an accomplice in his friend’s murder, this enormous concession appears totally to have escaped his penetration, and to have been considered comparatively as a light matter.

The king might still have saved his minister, by granting him a reprieve; but that was not thought advisable, while the minds of men were in such agitation. He sent, however, by the hands of the prince of Wales, a letter addressed to the peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the commons about a mitigation of the prisoner’s sentence, or at least to procure some delay. Both requests were rejected; and Strafford, finding his fate inevitable, prepared to meet death with the same dignity with which he had lived. In those awful moments of approaching dissolution, though

65. It appears, that the king had sent a letter to Strafford during his confinement, in which he assured him, upon the word of a king, that he should not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. *Strafford’s Letters*, vol. ii.

66. Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. v.

67. Id. *ibid*.

neither cheered by that ray of popular immortality, which beams upon the soul of the expiring patriot, nor consoled by the affectionate sorrow of the spectators, his erect mind found resources within itself; and, supported by the sentiment of conscious integrity, maintained its unbroken resolution amid the terrors of death, and the triumphant exultations of his vindictive enemies. His discourse, and also his deportment on the scaffold, discovered equal composure and courage. "The shedding of innocent blood," said he, "as a propitiatory sacrifice, is a bad omen, I fear, of the intended reformation of the state." And on preparing himself for the block, he made this memorable declaration: "I thank God I am no way afraid of death, nor daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose^{es}!" He accordingly submitted to his doom; and, at one blow, the executioner happily performed his office.

Thus, my dear Philip, perished, in the forty ninth year of his age, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the last great prop of royalty under the turbulent reign of Charles I. His Character, as might be expected, has been severely handled by our zealous republican writers; but by none of them has it been so completely mangled, as by a furious female, who will allow him neither virtue nor talents. But his abilities as a statesman, and his unshaken attachment to his master, you will readily perceive, were the chief cause of his ruin: and in the future proceedings of that parliament, to whose resentment he fell a sacrifice, you will find the best apology for his administration. A certain degree of vigour, and more perhaps than Strafford exerted, was necessary to preserve the church and monarchy from the ravages of those civil and religious enthusiasts, who soon overturned both.

The immediately subsequent proceedings of the commons, however, though inroads on the royal prerogative, were by

no means reprehensible. They brought in a bill, which was unanimously passed by both houses, for abolishing the arbitrary Star-chamber and High-commission courts, so grievous to all the lovers of liberty. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the privy council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles, after some hesitation, gave his assent to this excellent statute, which produced a material, but salutary change in our constitution. Several other arbitrary courts of an inferior nature were abolished: and the king, at the request of the parliament, instead of patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour⁶⁹; an advance of the utmost importance toward the impartial administration of justice, and the exclusion of the influence of the crown from the ordinary courts of law.

In a word, if the commons had proceeded no farther, they would have deserved the praise of all the friends of freedom; and even the iniquity of Strafford's attainder, their most blameable measure, would have been lost amid the blaze of their beneficial provisions and necessary regulations, which had generally a reference to posterity. But, like all political bodies who have rapidly acquired power, having gone so far, they did not know where to stop; but advanced insensibly, from one gradation to another, till they usurped the whole authority of the state.

These usurpations, and their consequences, we shall afterward have occasion to notice. They will form the subject of another Letter. In the mean time I must observe, that the parliament, after sending home the Scots, and dismissing the English army, put a temporary stop to its proceedings; and that Charles paid a visit to his native kingdom, in order to settle the government to the satisfaction of the Covenanters.

69. Clarendon, vol. i. Whitlocke, p. 47. May, p. 107.

L E T T E R V.

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, *from the Execution of STREFFORD, to the Beginning of the Grand Rebellion, in 1642.*

WHEN Charles arrived in Scotland, he found his subjects of that kingdom highly elated with the success of their military expedition. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters at Newcastle, as long as the popular leaders had occasion for them, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their *brotherly assistance*¹. They were declared, in the articles of pacification, to have been *ever* good subjects; and their hostile irruptions were approved of, as enterprizes calculated and *intended* for his majesty's *honour and advantage*! Nay, in order to carry yet farther the triumph over their sovereign, these articles, containing terms so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a parliamentary vote, to be read in all churches, on a day of thanksgiving appointed for the national pacification².

People in such a humour were not likely to be satisfied with trifling concessions. The Scottish parliament began with abolishing the Lords of Articles; who, from their constitution, were supposed to be entirely devoted to the court, and without whose consent no motion could be made³: a circumstance peculiarly grievous in the Scottish parliament, where the peers and commons formed only one house. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing⁴. So far all perhaps was laudable; but subjects who usurp on the authority of their prince, never know where to

1. Nalson, vol. i.

2. Rushworth, vol. v.

3. Burnet, *Mem.*

4. Burnet's *Mem. of the House of Hamilton*.

draw the line. In their rage for redressing grievances, they invade the most essential branches of royal prerogative. The king was in a manner dethroned in Scotland, by an article, which declared, That no member of the privy council (in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration was vested), no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed but by the advice and approbation of parliament^s.

To all these encroachments Charles quietly submitted, in order to satisfy his Scottish subjects, and was preparing to return to England, in hopes of completing a similar plan of pacification, when he received intelligence, that a bloody rebellion had broke out in Ireland, accompanied with circumstances of cruelty and devastation which fill the soul with horror. On every side surrounded by melancholy incidents and humiliating demands, nature and fortune, no less than faction and fanaticism, seemed to have conspired the ruin of this unhappy prince.

The conduct of James I. in regard to the affairs of Ireland, as we have already had occasion to see, was truly political, and the same plan of administration was pursued by his son Charles; namely, to reconcile the turbulent natives to the authority of law, by the regular distribution of justice, and to cure them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been addicted, by introducing arts and industry among them. For these salutary purposes, and also to secure the dominion of Ireland to the crown of England, great numbers of British subjects had been carried over to that island, and large colonies planted in different parts of it; so that, after a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the two nations not only seemed to be obliterated, but the country every where wore a less savage face.

To the tranquillity, as well as the prosperity of Ireland,

the vigorous government of the earl of Strafford had contributed not a little. During his administration agriculture had made great advances, by means of the English and Scottish plantations; the shipping of the kingdom had been doubled; the customs tripled upon the same rates; and manufactures introduced and promoted⁶. But soon after that minister fell a victim to popular fury, though dignified with the forms of justice, affairs began to wear a very different aspect in Ireland, and Charles found the parliament of that kingdom as high in its pretensions as those of England and Scotland, and as ready to rise in its encroachments in proportion to his concessions. The court of High-commission was voted to be a grievance; martial law was abolished; the jurisdiction of the council annihilated, and proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority⁷.

The English settlers, who were the chief movers of these measures, did not perceive, in their rage for liberty, the danger of weakening the authority of government, in a country where the Protestants scarce formed the sixth part of the inhabitants, and where two-thirds of the natives were still in a state of wild barbarity. The opportunity, however, thus afforded them, did not escape the discernment of the old Irish. They observed with pleasure every impolitic step, and determined on a general revolt, in order to free their country from the dominion of foreigners, and their religion from the insults of profane heretics. In this resolution they were encouraged by a gentleman, named Roger More, distinguished among them by his valour and abilities; and who, by going from chieftain to chieftain, roused up every latent principle of discontent.

More maintained a close correspondence with lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old

⁶ Warwick. p. 115. Russworth, vol. iv. Nelson, vol. ii. Strafford may be said to have given a beginning to the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, now become the great staple of the kingdom.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Irish chieftains; and he took every opportunity of representing to his countrymen, that the king's authority, in Britain, was reduced to so low an ebb, that he could not possibly exert himself with any vigour, in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland: that the catholics in the Irish house of commons, assisted by the Protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative, and the power of the lord-lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting of any conspiracy that should be formed; that the Scots, in having so successfully thrown off dependence on the crown of England, and taken the government into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had much greater grievances to complain of; that the English planters, who had expelled them from their ancient possessions, were but a handful in comparison of the original inhabitants; that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, and trusting to the protection of a small army, which was itself scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the whole kingdom; that a body of eight thousand men, raised and disciplined by government, in order to suppress the rebellion in Scotland, were now thrown loose, and ready for any daring or desperate enterprize⁸; that although the catholics had hitherto, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, enjoyed in some measure the exercise of their religion, they must expect that the government would thenceforth be conducted by other maxims and other prin-

8. The English commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army, the officers of which were Protestants, but the private men Catholics: and never ceased soliciting the king, till he agreed to break it. Nor would they consent to his augmenting the standing army to five thousand men; a number which he judged necessary to retain Ireland in obedience. Nay, they even frustrated an agreement, which he had made with the Spanish ambassador, to have the disbanded troops transported into Flanders, and enlisted in his master's service: Charles thinking it dangerous that eight thousand men accustomed to idleness, and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a people so turbulent and predatory, as the Irish. Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. v. Dugdale, p. 57.

ciples; that the puritanical party in parliament having, at last, subdued the sovereign, would doubtless extend their ambitious views and fanatical politics to Ireland, as soon as they had consolidated their authority, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution to which their brethren in England were already exposed; that a people, taking arms to rescue their native country from the dominion of foreign invaders, could at no time be considered as rebels; and much less could the Irish be regarded as such during the present disorders, when royal authority, to which alone they could owe any obedience, was in a manner usurped by a set of desperate heretics, from whom they could expect no favour or indulgence, but might apprehend every violence and severity?

Influenced by these considerations, all the heads of the native Irish engaged in the conspiracy; and it was not doubted but the old British planters, or the *English of the Pale*, as they were called, being all catholics, would afterwards join in an attempt to restore their religion to its ancient splendour. The beginning of winter was fixed on for the commencement of this revolt, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England; and the plan of the conspirators was, That Sir Phelim O'Neale and his confederates should, on one day, begin an insurrection throughout the country, and attack all the English settlements; while Lord Maguire and Roger More, on the same day, should surprise the castle of Dublin.

A concurrence of favourable circumstances seemed to have rendered the success of this undertaking infallible. The Irish catholics discovered such a propensity to revolt, that it was not thought necessary to trust the secret to many persons; and the appointed day drew nigh without any discovery having been made to government. The earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lord-lieutenant, re-

remained in London; and the two chief justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, were men of slender abilities. The attempt upon the castle of Dublin, however, was defeated by one O'Connolly, who betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons. More escaped, Maguire was taken; and Mahone, another of the conspirators, also being seized, discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and increased the terror and consternation of the Protestants¹⁰.

But this intelligence, though it saved Dublin, was obtained too late to enable the government to prevent the intended rebellion. O'Neale and his confederates immediately took arms in Ulster. They began with seizing the houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English and Scottish settlers, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty began its operations: an universal massacre commenced of the English Protestants, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes, who exercised on them a degree of barbarity unequalled in the history of any other nation, and at which credibility is startled. No age, no sex, no condition was spared: the wife weeping over her murdered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was butchered with them, and even pierced by the same stroke; all the ties of blood, as well as those of society, were dissolved; and friends, relations, and companions, were hunted down by their kindred and connexions, and involved in one common ruin, by those whom they had formerly considered as most sincerely attached to their persons, and who were most near and dear to them¹¹! The women, forgetting the character of their sex, emulated the men in the practice of every cruelty¹², in comparison with many of which, death might be regarded as a light pu-

10. Sir John Temple's *Irish Rebellion*. Rushworth, vol. v.

11. Temple ubi sup.

12. Rushworth, vol. v. Hume, chap. iv.

nishment, and even as a happy release from pain, roused by all the varieties of torture.

Amidst these frightful enormities, the sacred name of religion resounded on every side; not to arrest the fury of the murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of natural or social sympathy. The English Protestants were marked out by the catholic priests for slaughter, as heretics abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men¹³. Perfidy, as well as cruelty, was accordingly represented as meritorious: and if any where a number of Englishmen assembled together, in order to defend themselves to the last extremity, and to sweeten death at least by taking revenge on their destroyers, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels made them share the same fate with the body of their unhappy countrymen and fellow Protestants. Nor was this all. While death finished the sufferings of each unhappy victim, the bigotted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his ears, that these dying agonies were but a prelude to torments infinite and eternal¹⁴.

Such were the barbarities, my dear Philip, by which Sir Phelim O'Neale and the Irish in Ulster signalized their rebellion. The English colonies there were totally annihilated; and, from Ulster, the flames of rebellion suddenly spread over the other three provinces of Ireland, where the English had established settlements. In these provinces, however, though death and slaughter were not uncommon, the Irish pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel, alas! was their humanity, and unfeeling their moderation. Not content with expelling the English planters from their houses, with despoiling them of their property, seizing their possessions, and wasting their

13. Temple, p. 85.

14. Temple, p. 94.—188. Whitlocke, p. 47. Rushworth, vol. v.

cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very cloaths, and turned them out naked and defenceless, to all the severities of the season; while the heavens themselves, as if joining in conspiracy against the unhappy sufferers, were armed with cold and tempest, unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished¹⁵! Even the English of the *Pale*, who at first pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied, in a little time, found the interests of religion to prevail over their regard to their mother-country, and their allegiance to their sovereign; and joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence and cruelty against the English Protestants¹⁶. The number of persons who perished by all these barbarities, is computed at forty thousand; and the principal army of the rebels, amounting to twenty thousand men, yet thirsting for further slaughter and richer plunder, now threatened Dublin, where the miserable remnant of the English planters had taken refuge¹⁷.

November.

December.

The king, while preparing to leave Edinburgh, as already observed, had received, by a messenger from the North of Ireland, an account of this dreadful insurrection, which ought to be held in perpetual abhorrence by every lover of humanity¹⁸. He immediately communicated his intelligence

15. Temple.

16. Ibid. Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they induced many of their deluded countrymen; they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed that the cause of their taking up arms was to vindicate royal prerogative, so shamefully invaded by the puritanical parliament. Rushworth, vol. v.

17. Whitlocke, p. 49. Hume, chap. iv.

18. Many attempts have been made to throw a veil over the enormities of the Irish massacre. The natural love of independency, the tyranny of the English government, and the rapacity of the English soldiery, have been pleaded as powerful motives for rebellion, and strong incentives to vengeance, in the breasts of the injured and oppressed natives; and much trouble has

gence to the Scottish parliament, hoping that the same zeal, which had induced the Covenanters twice to run to arms, and assemble troops in opposition to the rights of their sovereign, would make them fly to the relief of their protestant brethren in Ireland, now labouring under the cruel persecutions of the catholics. But the zeal of the Scots, as is usual among religious sects, was extremely feeble, when neither stimulated by a sense of interest, nor by apprehensions of danger. They, therefore, resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the succours they should send to Ireland; and as the English commons, with which they were already closely connected, could alone fulfil any article that might be agreed on, they sent commissioners to London, to treat with that order in the state to which the sovereign authority was really transferred¹⁹.

Thus disappointed in his expectation of supplies from the Scots, and sensible of his own inability to subdue the Irish rebels, Charles was obliged to have recourse to the English parliament; to whose care and wisdom, he imprudently declared he was willing to commit the conduct and prosecution of the war. The commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, and who had aggrandised themselves by the difficulties and distresses of the crown, seemed to consider it as a peculiar happiness, that the rebellion in Ireland had succeeded, at so critical a period, to the pacification of Scotland. They immediately laid hold of the expression, by

been taken to prove, That the horrors of religious hate, though provoked by persecution, have been greatly exaggerated. But the vindictive and sanguinary disposition of the Irish catholics, in later times, leaves us no room to suppose that the detestation of the cruelties of their bigotted and barbarous ancestors has been overcharged. The stimulating causes I have not concealed, nor have I concealed their effects. The general slaughter I have reduced as low even as Mr. Brooke, the author of the *Trial of the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, could wish; but truth forbids me to disguise the atrocious circumstances with which it was accompanied.

19. Russellworth, vol. v.

which the king committed to them the care of that island : and to this usurpation, the boldest they had yet made, Charles was obliged passively to submit ; both because of his utter inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the infamous reproach with which he was already loaded by the Puritans, of countenancing the Irish rebellion.

The commons, however, who had projected farther innovations at home, took no steps toward suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, but such as also tended to give them the superiority in those commotions, which they foresaw would soon be excited in England. They levied money under colour of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for enterprises that concerned them more nearly : they took arms from the king's magazines, under the same pretext, but kept them with a secret intention of employing them against himself. Whatever law they deemed necessary for their own aggrandisement, was voted under pretence of enabling them to recover Ireland ; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels, which had at first excited the popish conspiracy in that kingdom, and which still threatened total destruction to the protestant interest throughout all his dominions²⁹. But so great was the confidence of the people in those hypocritical zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the rebels, that, although no forces were sent to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the deepest distress of the Protestants, the fault was never imputed to the parliament !

The commons in the meantime were employed in framing that famous remonstrance, which was soon after followed by such extraordinary consequences. It was not, as usual, addressed to the king, but was a declared appeal to the people. Besides gross falsehoods and malignant insinuations, it contained an enumeration of every unpopular measure, which Charles had embraced, from the commencement of

his reign to the calling of the parliament that framed it, accompanied with many jealous prognostics of future grievances: and the acrimony of the style was equal to the harshness of the matter.

A performance so full of gall, and so obviously intended to excite general dissatisfaction, after the ample concessions made by the crown, was not only regarded by all discerning men, as a signal for some farther attacks upon the royal prerogative, but as a certain indication of the approaching abolition of monarchical government in England. The opposition which the remonstrance met with in the house of commons, was therefore very great. The debate in regard to it was warmly managed for above fourteen hours; and the vote, in its favour, was at last carried only by a small majority, and seemingly in consequence of the weariness of the king's party, consisting chiefly of elderly men, many of whom had retired²¹. It was not sent up to the house of peers.

No sooner was the remonstrance of the commons published, than the king dispersed an answer to it. Sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured in this contest, Charles contented himself with observing, that, even during the period so much complained of, the people had enjoyed not only a greater share of happiness and prosperity than was to be found in other countries, but perhaps in England during times esteemed the most fortunate. He mentioned the great concessions made by the crown, protested his sincerity in the reformed religion, and blamed the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person, government, and the established church. "If, notwithstanding these," added he, "any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they shall endeavour to

21. Rushworth, vol. v. Naïson, vol. ii. Whitlocke, p. 49. Dugdale, p. 71.

“ lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my law-
 “ ful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by dis-
 “ countenancing the present laws, to loosen the bands of go-
 “ vernment, that disorder and confusion may break in upon
 “ us; I doubt not but God, in his good time, will discover
 “ them to me, and that the wisdom and courage of my high
 “ court of parliament will join with me in their suppression
 “ and punishment ²².”

But the ears of the people were too much prejudiced against the king to listen patiently to any thing that he could offer in his own vindication; so that the commons proceeded in their usurpations upon the church and monarchy, and made their purpose of subverting both every day more evident. During the king's residence in Scotland, they had accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without consent of parliament, though no other method had ever been practised since the foundation of the government; and they now insisted, that the peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. But the majority of the peers, who plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility, as a necessary consequence of the farther encroachments of the commons, paid little regard to such an unreasonable request. Enraged at this, and other checks, the popular leaders openly told the lords, That they themselves were the representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity: and, therefore, “ If their lord-
 “ ships will not consent to the passing of acts necessary for
 “ the preservation of the people, the commons, together
 “ with such of the lords as are more sensible of the danger,
 “ must join together, and represent the matter to his ma-
 “ jesty ²³.”

This was a plain avowal of those democratical principles

²² Nalson, vol. ii.

²³ Clarendon, vol. ii.

that began now to be propagated among the people, and which had long prevailed in the house of commons, as well as a bold attempt to form a party among the lords. And the tide of popularity seized many of the peers, and carried them wide of all the established maxims of civil policy. Of these the most considerable were the earls of Essex and Northumberland, and lord Kimbolton, afterward earl of Manchester; in a who, sensible that their credit ran high with the nation, rashly ventured to encourage an enthusiastic spirit, which they soon found they wanted power to regulate or controul.

The body of the nobility, however, still took shelter under the throne; and the commons, in order to procure a majority in the upper house, had again recourse to the populace. Amidst the greatest security, they affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation²⁴; they even ordered halberds to be brought into the hall where they assembled; and thus armed themselves against those desperate conspiracies, with which they pretended they were hourly threatened, and the feigned dissensions of which were industriously propagated among the credulous people²⁵. Multitudes flocked to Westminster, and insulted the bishops and such of the peers as adhered to the crown. The lords voted a declaration against these tumults, and sent it to the lower house; but the commons refused their concurrence; and to make further known their pleasure, they ordered several seditious apprentices, who had been seized, and committed to prison, to be set at liberty²⁶.

Thus encouraged, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and insulted and threatened the king and the royal family. Such anarchical behaviour roused the young gentlemen of the house of Court; who, with some reduced officers, undertook the defence of their sovereign; and between them and

²⁴ *Journ.* 16th and 30th of Nov. 1641.

²⁵ *Mahon*, vol. ii.

²⁶ *Id. ibid.*

the populace passed frequent skirmishes, which seldom ended without bloodshed. These gentlemen, by way of reproach, gave the fanatical insulters of majesty the name of **ROUNDHEADS**, on account of the short cropt hair which they wore, while the rabble called their more polished opponents, by reason of their being chiefly mounted on horseback, **CAVALIERS**; names, which became famous during the civil war that followed, and which contributed not a little to inflame the animosity between the parties, during the prelude to that contest, by affording the factious an opportunity to rendezvous under them, and signalize their mutual hate, by the reproachful ideas that were affixed to them by each party, no less than by the political distinctions which they marked.

The Cavaliers who affected a liberal way of thinking, as well as a gaiety and freedom of manners inconsistent with puritanical ideas, were represented by the Roundheads as a set of abandoned profligates, equally destitute of religion and morals; the devoted tools of the court, and zealous abettors of arbitrary power. The Cavaliers, on the other hand, regarded the Roundheads as a gloomy, narrow-minded, fanatical herd, determined enemies to kingly power, and to all distinction of ranks in society. But in these characters, drawn by the passions of the two parties, we must not expect impartiality; both are certainly overcharged. The Cavaliers were, in general, sincere friends to liberty and the English constitution; nor were republican and levelling principles by any means general at first among the Roundheads, though they came at last to predominate. It must however be admitted, that the Cavaliers, in order to shew their contempt of puritanical austerity, often carried their convivial humour to an indecent excess; and that the gloomy temper and religious extravagancies of the Roundheads afforded an ample field for the raillery of their facetious adversaries.

In consequence of these distinctions, and the tumults that accompanied them, the bishops, being easily known by their habits,

habits, and exposed to the most dangerous insults from the enraged sectaries, to whom they had long been obnoxious, were deterred from attending their duty in parliament. They, therefore, imprudently protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and void, which should pass during their forced and involuntary absence. The lords, incensed at this passionate step, desired a conference with the commons on the subject. The opportunity was eagerly seized by the lower house, and an impeachment of high treason sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and invalidate the authority of the legislature. They were immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody²⁷.

The king, who had hastily approved of the protest of the bishops, was soon after hurried into a greater indiscretion; an indiscretion which may be considered as the immediate cause of the civil war that ensued, and to which, or some similar violence, the popular leaders had long wished to provoke him by their intemperate language. They at last succeeded beyond their most sanguine hopes. Enraged to find, that all his concessions but increased the demands of the commons; that the people, who, on his return from Scotland, had received him with expressions of duty and affection, were again roused to sedition; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him, and a method of address adopted, not only unsuitable to a great prince, but which a private gentleman could not bear without resentment; he began to suspect that his government wanted vigour, and to ascribe these unexampled acts of insolence to his own facility of temper. In this opinion he was encouraged by the queen and her confidants, who were continually reproaching him with indolence, and entreating him to display the majesty of a sovereign; before which, as they fondly imagined, the daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink²⁸.

27. Rushworth, vol. v. Clarendon, vol. ii.

28. Clarendon, vol. ii.

Charles, ever ready to adopt violent counsels, and take advice from people inferior to himself in capacity, gave way to these arguments, and ordered the attorney-general to enter an accusation of high-treason against lord Kimbolton and five commoners; namely, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The chief articles of impeachment were, That they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and to deprive the king of his regal power; that they had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had invited and encouraged an hostile army to invade the kingdom; that, in order to complete their traiterous designs, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join them; and, to that end, had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament ²⁹.

That so bold a measure should have been embraced at such a crisis, was matter of surprise to all men, and of sincere regret to the real friends of the constitution; more especially, as it did not appear that the members accused were any farther criminal than the body of the commons, except perhaps by the exertion of superior abilities. But whatever might be their guilt, it was evident, that while the house of peers was scarce able to maintain its independency, it would never be permitted by the populace, had it even possessed courage and inclination, to pass a sentence, which must totally subdue the lower house; these five members being the very heads of the popular party, and the chief promoters of their ambitious projects.

The astonishment excited by this measure was soon, however, transferred to attempts more bold and precipitant. A serjeant at arms was sent to the house of commons, to demand,

²⁹ Whitlocke, p. 53. Rushworth, vol. v.

in the king's name, the five members ascended. He returned without any positive answer; and messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them, wherever they might be found. The house voted these violent proceedings to be breach of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members³⁰. Irritated by so much opposition, the king went in person to the house of commons, in hopes of surprizing the persons whom he had recalled, and demanded in vain; but they, having private intelligence of his resolution, had withdrawn before he entered³¹.

The embarrassment of Charles, on that discovery, may be easier conceived than described. Sensible of his imprudence, when too late; and ashamed of the situation in which he found himself, "I assure you, on the word of a king," said he, "I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against these men in a fair and legal way; for I never meant any other. And now since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; that whatever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it."³² The commons were in the utmost disorder during his stay; and when he was departing, some members cried aloud, "Privilege! privilege!"³³

The house adjourned till next day; and the ascended members, in order to shew the greater apprehension of personal danger, returned into the city the same evening. The citizens were in arms the whole night; and some incendiaries, or people actuated by their own fanatical fears, ran from gate to gate crying, that the Cavaliers, and the king at their head, were coming to burn the city. In order to shew how little occasion there was for any such alarm, and what confidence he placed in the citizens, Charles went next morning to Guildhall, attended only by three or four noblemen, and en-

30. Whitlocke, p. 51. Rushworth, vol. v.

31. Whitlocke, p. 52.

32. *Id. ibid.*

33. Whitlocke, *ubi sup.*

deavoured to conciliate the affections of the lord-mayor and common-council. He had accused some men, he said, of high-treason, against whom he meant to proceed in a legal way; and therefore hoped they would not meet with protection in the city. The citizens, however, shewed no inclination to give them up; and the king left the hall, little better satisfied than with his visit to the house of commons³⁴. In passing through the streets, he had the mortification to hear the insulting cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of "parliament!" resound from every quarter; and one of the populace, more daring than the rest, saluted him with the words employed by the mutinous Israelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign: — "To your tents, O Israel³⁵!"

When the commons met, they affected the utmost terror and dismay; and after voting, that they could not sit in the same place, until they had obtained satisfaction for that unparalleled breach of privilege committed by the king, and had a guard appointed for their security, they adjourned themselves for some days. In the meantime, a committee was ordered to sit in the city, and inquire into every circumstance attending the king's entry into the house of commons; from all which was inferred an intention of offering violence to the parliament, by seizing, even in that house, the accused members, and of murdering all who should make resistance. They again met, confirmed the votes of the committee, and hastily adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent danger. This practice they frequently repeated; and when, by these affected panics, they had filled the minds of the people with the most dreadful apprehensions, and inflamed them with enthusiastic rage against the court, the accused members were conducted by the city militia, in a kind of military triumph, to Westminster, in order to resume their seats in the house; the populace, as they passed Whitehall,

24. Clarendon. vol. ii.

35. Rushworth, vol. v.

by land and water, frequently asking, 'with insulting shouts, "What is become of the king and his cavaliers"³⁶?'

Charles, apprehensive of danger from the furious multitude, had retired to Windsor. There, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief and shame for his misconduct, he had leisure to reflect on the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. He saw himself involved in a situation the most distressing, entirely by his own precipitancy and indifcretion, and how to extricate himself with honour he could not discover: his friends were discouraged, his enemies triumphant, and the people seemed ripe for rebellion. Without submission his ruin appeared to be inevitable: but to make submission to subjects, was what his kingly pride could not bear; yet to that humiliating expedient, in his present circumstances surely the most adviseable, he had at last recourse. In successive messages to the commons, he told them, that he would desist from his prosecution of the accused members; that he would grant them a pardon; that he would concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; that he would make reparation to the house, for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain; and he declared, that, for the future, he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life³⁷. This was certainly yielding too far; but the uneasy mind is naturally carried from one extreme to another, in attempting to repair its errors.

If the king's violence made him hateful, his unreserved submission made him contemptible to the commons. They thought he could now deny them nothing; and, therefore, refused to accept any concession for the breach of privilege, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure. But Charles, whose honour as a gentleman was sacred and inviolable, had still spirit enough left to reject with disdain a condition, which would have rendered him for ever despi-

36. Whitlocke. Dugdale. 37. Dugdale, p. 84. Rushworth, vol. v.

cable, and unworthy of all friendship or confidence. He had already shewn to the nation, had the nation not been blinded with fanaticism, that if he had violated the rights of parliament, which was still a question with many ³⁸, he was willing to make every possible reparation, and yield them any satisfaction not inconsistent with the integrity of his moral character.

Meanwhile the commons continued to declaim against the violation of parliamentary privileges, and to inflame still farther the discontents of the people. For this purpose they had recourse to the old expedient of petitioning, so flattering to human pride!—as it affords the meanest member of the community an opportunity of instructing the highest, and of feeling his own consequence, in the right of offering such instructions. A petition from Buckinghamshire was presented to the house, by six thousand men, who promised to live and die in the defence of the privileges of parliament. One of the like nature was presented by the city of London; and petitions from many other places were given in: nay, a petition from the apprentices was graciously received, and one from the porters was encouraged. The beggars, and even the women, were seized with the same rage. A brewer's

38. No maxim in law, it was said, is more established, or more universally allowed, than that privilege of parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace: that it was never pretended by any one, that the hall where the parliament assemblies is an inviolable sanctuary; that if the commons complained of the affront offered them by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence, the blame must lie entirely upon themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the king's message, when he peacefully demanded these members; that the sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and that his presence was here legally employed both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had so well merited. (*Howel's Inspection into the Carriage of the late Long Parliament*. Hume, chap. lv.) But whatever might be urged in favour of the legality of Charles's attempt to seize the accused members, no one pretended to vindicate the prudence either of that or the accusation. To impeach the heads of a faction, during the full tide of its power, was indeed attempting to fetter the waves.

wife,

wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house; in which they expressed their terror of papists and prelates, rapes and massacres, and claimed a right equal to that of the men, in communicating their sense of the public danger, since Christ had died for them as well as for the other sex. The apprentices were loud in the praise of liberty, and bold in their threats against arbitrary power. The porters complained of the decay of trade, and desired that justice might be done upon offenders, according to the atrociousness of their crimes: and they added, "That if such remedies were any longer suspended, they would be forced to extremities not fit to be named." The beggars, as a remedy for public miseries, proposed, "That these noble worthies of the house of peers, who concur with the happy voices of the commons, may separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body." This language, which could not possibly be misunderstood, was evidently dictated by the commons themselves.

But while these inflammatory petitions were encouraged, and received with the warmest expressions of approbation, all petitions which favoured the church or monarchy were discountenanced, and those interested in them imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents. In a word, by the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, was swept away all opposition in both houses, and every rampart of royal authority was laid level with the ground. The king, as appeared by the vote on the remonstrance, had a strong party in the lower house; and in the house of peers, he had a great majority, even after the bishops were chased away. But now, when the populace without doors were ready to execute, on the least hint, the will of their leaders, it was not safe for any member to approach either house, who pretended to oppose the general torrent.

Thus possessed of an unlimited majority in both houses,

39. Clarendon, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. v.

40. Id. *ibid.*

the popular leaders, who well knew the importance of such a favourable moment, pursued their victory with vigour and dispatch. The bills sent up by the commons, and which had hitherto been rejected by the peers, were now passed, and presented for the royal assent; namely, a bill vesting the parliament with the power of impressing men into the service, under pretence of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, and the long contested bill for depriving the bishops of the privilege of voting in the house of lords. The king's authority was reduced so low, that a refusal would have been both hazardous and ineffectual; and the queen, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, prevailed on her husband speedily to pass those bills, in hopes of appeasing the rage of the multitude, until she could make her escape to Holland ⁴¹.

But these important concessions, like all the former, served only as a foundation for more exorbitant demands. Encouraged by the facility of the king's disposition, the commons regarded the smallest relaxation in their invasion of royal authority, as highly impolitic at such a crisis. They were fully sensible, that monarchical government, which had been established in England during so many years, would regain some part of its former dignity, as soon as the present storm was blown over, in spite of all their new-invented limitations: yet would it not be safe to attempt the entire abolition of an authority, to which the nation had been so long accustomed, before they were in possession of the sword; which alone could guard their usurped power, or insure to them personal safety against the rising indignation of their insulted sovereign. To this point, therefore, they directed all their views. They conferred the government of Hull, where was a large magazine of arms, on Sir John Hotham; they sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no orders but such as he should receive from the parliament; and they obliged

41. Clarendon, vol. ii.

the king to displace Sir John Byron, a man of unexceptionable character, and bestow the government of the Tower on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could place confidence ⁴².

These were bold steps, but a bolder was yet necessary to be made by the commons, before they could hope to accomplish the ruin of royal authority; and that was, the acquisition of the command of the militia, which would at once give them the whole power of the sword, there being at that time no regular troops in England, except those which the commons themselves had levied for suppressing the Irish rebellion. With this view they brought in a bill; by the express terms of which the lord-lieutenants of counties, or principal officers of the militia, who were all named in it, were to be accountable, not to the king, but to the parliament. Charles here ventured to put a stop to his concessions, though he durst not hazard a flat denial. He only requested, that the military authority should be allowed to remain in the crown: and, if that should be admitted, he promised to bestow commissions, but revocable at pleasure, on the very persons named in the bill. But the commons, whose object was nothing less than sovereignty, imperiously replied, "That the danger and distempers of the nation were
 " such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the king
 " speedily complied with their demands, they should be en-
 " forced, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of
 " the militia by the authority of both houses, and were re-
 " solved to do it accordingly ⁴³."

But what was more extraordinary than all this, while the commons thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence in London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy. "I am so much amazed
 " at this message," said Charles, in his prompt reply, "that
 " I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and

42. Rushworth, vol. v.

43. Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. chap. iv.

“ fears ! Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves,
 “ whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and
 “ jealousies : and if so, I assure you, that this message has
 “ nothing lessened them. As to the militia, I thought so
 “ much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much
 “ assured, that the answer is agreeable to what, in justice or
 “ reason, you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not
 “ alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it
 “ might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to
 “ absent myself from Whitehall : ask yourselves whether I
 “ have not ! What would you have ? Have I denied to pass
 “ any bill for the ease and security of my subjects ? I do not
 “ ask what ye have done for me ! Have any of my people
 “ been transported with fears and apprehensions ? I offer as
 “ free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All
 “ this considered, there is a judgment of Heaven upon this
 “ nation, if these distractions continue. God so deal with
 “ me and mine ! as all my thoughts and intentions are up-
 “ right for the maintenance of the true protestant profes-
 “ sion, and for the observance and preservation of the laws ;
 “ and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my pre-
 “ servation ⁴⁴.”

The firmness of this reply surprised the commons, but did
 not discourage them from prosecuting their ambitious aim.
 They had gone too far to retract : they therefore voted, That
 those who advised his majesty's answer, “ were enemies to
 “ the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of
 “ the nation ; that this denial is of such dangerous conse-
 “ quence, that, if his majesty persist in it, it will hazard the
 “ peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unless some
 “ speedy remedy may be applied by the wisdom and autho-
 “ rity of parliament ; and that such of the subjects as have
 “ put themselves in a posture of defence against the common
 “ danger, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and

44. Rushworth, vol. v.

“ approved of by the house ⁴⁵.” And, in order to induce the people to second these usurpations, by arming themselves more generally, the most unaccountable panics were spread throughout the nation by rumours of intended massacres and invasions.

Alarmed at those threatening appearances, and not without apprehensions that force might be employed to extort his assent to the militia-bill, the king thought it prudent to remove to a greater distance from London. Taking with him his two sons, the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he accordingly retired northward, and made the city of York, for a time, the seat of his court. The queen had already taken refuge in Holland. There she resided with her daughter Mary, who had been given in marriage to the prince of Orange.

In the northern parts of his kingdom, where the church and monarchy were still respected, Charles found himself of more consequence than in the capital or its neighbourhood, which was become a scene of fury and fanaticism. The marks of attachment shewn him at York exceeded his fondest expectations. The principal nobility and gentry, from all quarters of England, either personally or by letters, expressed their duty toward him, and exhorted him to save them from that democratical tyranny with which they are threatened.

Finding himself supported by so considerable a body of his subjects, the king began to assume a bolder tone, and to retort the accusations of the commons with spirit. As he still persisted in refusing the militia-bill, they had framed an ordinance, in which, by the sole authority of the two houses of parliament, they had named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force; of all the guards, garrisons, and forts in the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this usurpation;

and declared, that as he had formed a resolution, strictly to observe the laws himself, he was determined that every one should yield a like obedience⁴⁶. The commons, on their part, were neither destitute of vigour nor address. In order to cover their usurped authority with a kind of veil, and to confound in the minds of the people the ideas of duty and allegiance, they bound, in all their commands, the persons to whom they were directed, to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament⁴⁷. Thus by a distinction, hitherto unknown, between the office and the person of the king, they employed the royal name to the subversion of royal authority!

The chief object of both parties being the acquisition of the favour of the people, each was desirous to throw on the other the odium of involving the nation in civil discord. With this view, a variety of memorials, remonstrances, and declarations were dispersed; and the royal party was supposed to have greatly the advantage in the war of the pen. The king's memorials were chiefly composed by himself and lord Falkland, who had accepted the office of secretary of state, and whose virtues and talents were of the most amiable and exalted kind. In these papers Charles endeavoured to clear up the principles of the constitution; to mark the boundaries of the powers entrusted by law to the several orders in the state; to shew what great improvements the whole political system had received from his late concessions; to demonstrate his entire confidence in his people; and to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made to that confidence and those concessions. The parliament, on the other hand, exaggerated all his unpopular measures; and attempted to prove, that their whole proceedings were necessary for the preservation of religion and liberty⁴⁸.

But whatever advantage either side might gain by these writings, both were sensible, that the sword must ultimate-

46. Rushworth, ubi sup.

47. Ibid.

48. Rushworth, vol. v.

ly decide the dispute: and they began to prepare accordingly. The troops which had been raised under pretence of the Irish rebellion, were now openly enlisted by the parliament for its own purposes, and the command of them given to the earl of Essex. Nor were new levies neglected. No less than four thousand men are said to have been enlisted in London in one day ⁴⁹. And the parliament having issued orders that loans of money and plate might be furnished, for maintaining these forces, such vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers, that they could hardly find room to stow it. Even the women gave up their ornaments, to support the cause of the godly against the malignant, ⁵⁰.

Very different was the king's situation. His preparations were not near so forward as those of the parliament. In order to recover the confidence of his people, and remove all jealousy of violent counsels, he had resolved that the usurpations and illegal pretensions of the commons should be evident to the whole world. This he considered as of more importance to his interest than the collecting of magazines, or the assembling of armies. But had he even been otherwise disposed, he would have found many difficulties to encounter; for although he was attended by a splendid train of nobility, and by a numerous body of gentlemen of great landed property, supplies could not be raised without a connection with the married men, who were chiefly attached to the parliament, which had seized his revenues since the beginning of the contest concerning the militia bill. Yet was he not altogether unprepared. The queen, by disposing of the crown jewels, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition in Holland. Part of these had arrived safe; and Charles finding that the urgent necessities of his situation would no longer admit of delay, prepared himself for defence, and roused his adherents to arms, with a spirit, activity, and address, that still surpris'd his friends and his enemies. The

⁴⁹. *Vicar's God in the Mount.*

⁵⁰. Whitlocke. Dugdale.

resources of his genius on this, as on all other occasions, seemed to increase in proportion to the obstacles to be overcome. He never appeared so great as when plunged in distress, or surrounded with perils.

The commons, however, conscious of their superiority in force, and determined to take advantage of it, yet desirous to preserve the appearance of a pacific disposition, sent the king conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement, but to which they knew he would not submit. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical government, and would have involved in ruin the whole royal party. They required, That no man should remain in the privy council, who had not the approbation of parliament; that no deed of the sovereign should have validity, unless it passed that council, and was attested under its seal; that all the principal officers of state and chief judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices during life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of both houses of parliament; that the laws should be executed against catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government should have place, according to the advice of parliament; that the parliamentary ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted for all past offences, with such exceptions as shall be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament; and that no peers be made but with the concurrence of both houses ⁵¹.

“Should I grant these demands,” said Charles, in his animated reply, “I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be continued to me; and *The King’s Authority, signified by both Houses,*

51. Rushworth, vol. v. May, book ii.

“ may still be the style of your commands: I may have swords
 “ and maces carried before me, and please myself with the
 “ sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would
 “ not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew
 “ was dead); but as to true and real power, I should re-
 “ main but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a
 king.” He accordingly refused to support his authority by
 arms; war, at any disadvantage, being esteemed preferable,
 by himself and all his counsellors, to so ignominious a peace.
 Collecting therefore some forces, and advancing southward,
 he erected his royal standard at Nottingham.

This being considered as the open signal of discord and
 civil war throughout the kingdom, the abettors of the ad-
 verse parties began now more distinctly to separate them-
 selves: and when two names so sacred in the English consti-
 tution, as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in
 opposition to each other, little wonder the people were di-
 vided in their choice, and agitated with the most violent
 animosities!

The greater part of the nobility, and the gentlemen of an-
 cient families, fearing a total confusion of ranks from the
 fury of the populace, attached themselves to the throne, from
 which they derived their lustre, and to which it was again
 communicated. Proud of their birth, of their consequence
 in the state, and of the loyalty and virtue of their ancestors,
 they zealously adhered to the cause of their sovereign; which
 was also supported by most men of a liberal education, or a
 liberal way of thinking, and by all who wished well to the
 church and monarchy. But, on the other hand, as the ve-
 neration for the commons was extreme throughout the
 kingdom, and the aversion against the hierarchy general, the
 city of London, and most of the great corporations, took
 part with the parliament, and adopted with ardour those
 principles of freedom, on which that assembly had originally

founded its pretensions, and under colour of maintaining which it had taken up arms. Beside these corporations, many families that had lately been enriched by commerce, seeing with envious eyes the superior homage paid to the nobility and elder gentry, eagerly undertook the exaltation of a power, under whose dominion they hoped to acquire rank and distinction ⁵³.

Thus determined in their choice, both parties, putting a close to argument, now referred the justice of their cause to the decision of the sword.

53. Clarendon, vol. iii.

L E T T E R VI.

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, *from the Commencement of the Civil War to the battle of NASEBY, in 1645.*

NO contest ever seemed more unequal, my dear Philip, than that between Charles I. and his parliament, when the sword was first drawn. Almost every advantage lay on the side of the latter. The parliamentary party being in possession of the legal means of supply, and of all the sea-ports except Newcastle, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable sum; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised by the cities, which possessed the ready money, and were also chiefly in their hands, than they could be by the nobility and gentry, who adhered to the king. The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports to which they belonged; and the earl of Northumberland, lord high-admiral, having engaged in the cause of the commons, had named, at their desire, the earl of Warwick as his lieutenant. Warwick at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of his party. They were likewise in possession of

of all the magazines of arms and ammunition in the kingdom, and had intercepted part of the stores the queen had purchased in Holland.

The king's only hope of counterbalancing so many advantages, on the part of his adversaries, arose from the supposed superiority of his adherents in mental and personal qualities. More courage and enterprize were expected from the generous and lofty spirit of the ancient nobility and gentry than from the base-born vulgar. Nor was it doubted but their tenants, whom they levied and armed at their own expence, would greatly surpass in valour and force the seditary and enervated inhabitants of cities. But, in making this comparison, the mysterious and elevating influence of the double enthusiasm of religion and liberty was forgot : a kind of holy fury, arising from apprehensions of danger, and a confidence in supernatural aid, which, accompanied with supposed illuminations, inspires the daring fanatic with the most romantic bravery, and enables him to perform such acts of prowess as transcend the common standard of humanity ; confirm him in his belief of divine assistance, impel him to future exertions, and render his valour irresistible, when directed against those whom he regards as the enemies of God and of his country.

Of the power of this enthusiastic energy, in animating the most grovelling minds, Charles had unhappily too much reason to become acquainted, during his hostile struggle for dominion ; and to learn, from fatal experience, in many a hard-fought field, that it was not inferior in efficacy even to the courage connected with greatness of soul or infused by nobility of birth. At present he had a contemptible idea of the parliamentary party, considered as individuals ; but their numbers, their resources, and their military preparations, were sufficient to fill him with the most awful apprehensions. He declared, however, against all advances toward an accommodation. " I have nothing left but my honour," said he ; " and this last possession I am firmly resolved to preserve, and
" rather to perish than yield any farther to the pretensions of

" my

“ my enemies ¹.” But he was induced, by the earnest solicitations of his friends, to relax in his purpose; and, in order to gain time, as well as to manifest a pacific disposition, to send ambassadors to the parliament with offers of treaty, before he began hostilities.

The conduct of the parliament justified Charles’s opinion. Both houses replied, “ That they could not treat with the king until he took down his standard, and recalled his “ proclamations,” in which the members supposed themselves to be declared traitors; and when, by a second message, he offered to recall those proclamations, they desired him to dismiss his forces, to reside with his parliament, and to give up delinquents to justice ²; or, in other words, to abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies.

Hoping that the people were now fully convinced of the infolence of the parliament, and its aversion against peace, the king made vigorous preparations for war. Aware, however, that he was not yet able to oppose the parliamentary army, which was commanded by the earl of Essex, he left Nottingham, and retired, by slow marches, first to Derby, and afterward to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, in that neighbourhood, he collected his forces, and made the following declaration before the whole army: “ I do promise, in the “ presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing “ and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, “ defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, “ established in the church of England; and, by the grace “ of God, in the same will live and die.

“ I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my “ government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my “ own just right; and if it please God, by his blessing on “ this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve

1. Clarendon, vol. iii.

2. Rushworth, vol. v.

“ me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privilege and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergency, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this war; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.”

This declaration, which was considered as a sacred engagement on the part of the king, was received with the warmest expressions of approbation and gratitude, by the generous train of nobility and gentry by whom he was attended; and who, in the hope of his submitting to a legal and limited government, had alone been induced to take the field, with a resolution of sacrificing their lives and fortunes in his defence. They were in general no less animated with the spirit of liberty than of loyalty, and held in contempt the high monarchical principles.

Charles was received at Shrewsbury with marks of duty and affection; and his army increased so fast, while it lay there, that he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men. With these he resolved to give battle to the army of the parliament, as he heard it was daily augmented with recruits from London. He accordingly directed his march toward the capital, in order to bring on an engagement.

Essex was prepared to oppose him. The two armies met on Edgehill, near Kington in Warwickshire, where a desperate battle was fought. The earl of Lindsey was general of the royal army; prince Rupert, son of the unfortunate elector Palatine, commanded the horse; Sir Jacob Astley the foot; Sir Arthur Aston the dragoons;

Sir John Heydon the artillery ; and lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards, whose estates, according to the computation of lord Clarendon, were equal in value to those of all the members who, at the commencement of hostilities, voted against the king in both houses of parliament. Essex drew up his army with judgment ; but in consequence of the desertion of a troop of horse, under Sir Faithful Fortescue, and the furious shock made upon them by prince Rupert, his whole left wing of cavalry immediately gave way, and was pursued two miles. Nor did better fortune attend the right wing of the parliamentary army, which was also broken and put to flight.

The victory must now have been decisive in favour of the royalists, had not the king's body of reserve, commanded by Sir John Biron heedlessly joined in the pursuit. The advantage, afforded by this imprudence, being perceived by Sir William Balfour, who commanded Essex's reserve, he immediately wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now quite destitute of horse, and made great havoc among them. Lord Lindsay, the general, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner ; and his son, in endeavouring to rescue him, fell likewise into the enemy's hands. Sir Edward Verney, who carried the king's standard, was killed ; the standard was taken, and the king himself was in danger. The standard was afterwards recovered by the valour of captain John Smith, but the situation of affairs was not changed. Every thing, on the appearance of prince Rupert, wore the appearance of a defeat rather than of a complete victory, which he thought had been gained. His troops were too much fatigued to renew the charge, and the enemy did not provoke him to it, though both parties faced each other for some time. All night they lay on their arms, and next morning drew off, by a kind of mutual consent, neither side having spirit for a fresh action. Essex retired to Warwick castle, and the king returned to his former quarters, near Bambury⁴. Five thousand men were found dead on

⁴ 4. May, book iii. Clarendon, vol. iii.

the field, and the loss of the two armies, from comparing opposite accounts, appears to have been nearly equal. The troops of both parties suffered much by cold during the night after the engagement.

Though this first battle was so little decisive, that the parliament claimed the victory as well as the king, it was of great service to the royal cause. Charles immediately made himself master of Bambury; and, as soon as his army was recruited and refreshed, he advanced to Reading; the governor and garrison of which place, on the approach of a detachment of Royalists, had fled with precipitation to London. The capital was struck with terror, and the parliament voted an address for a treaty; but as no cessation for hostilities had been agreed on, the king continued to advance, and took possession of Brentford. By this time Essex had reached London, and the declining season put a stop to farther operations⁵.

During the winter, the king and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, but in seeming advances towards peace. Oxford, where the king resided, A. D. 1643. was chosen as the place of treaty. Thither the parliament sent their requisitions by the earl of Northumberland, and four members of the lower house, who acted as commissioners. They abated somewhat of those extravagant demands they had formerly made; but their claims were still too high to admit of an amicable accommodation, unless the king had been willing to renounce the most essential branches of his prerogative. Besides other humiliating articles they required him, in express terms, utterly to abolish episcopacy; a demand which before they had only insinuated. They insisted, that he should submit to the punishment of his most faithful servants: and they desired him to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the sword⁶. The negotiation, as

5. Whitlocke, p. 60.

6. Clarendon, vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. vi.

may be naturally supposed, served only for a time to amuse both parties.

Meanwhile each county, each town, and almost each family, was divided within itself, and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Continual efforts were every where made, by both parties, to surmount each other, even after the season of action was over. The earl of Newcastle, who commanded for the king in Yorkshire, gained several advantages over the parliamentary forces, and established the royal authority in all the northern counties. Actions still more memorable were performed in the south and west. Sir William Waller, who began now to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament, defeated lord Herbert near Gloucester, and took the city of Hereford. On the other side, Sir Ralph Hopton made himself master of Launceston, and reduced all Cornwall to peace and obedience under the king⁷.

Early in the spring Reading was besieged, and taken by the parliamentary army, commanded by the earl of Essex. Being joined soon after by the forces under Sir William Waller, Essex marched toward Oxford, with a view of attacking the king, who was supposed to be in great distress for want of ammunition. But Charles, informed of his design, and of the loose disposition of his forces, dispatched prince Rupert with a party of horse to annoy them; and that gallant leader, who was perfectly fitted for such a service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry, and one of infantry, and carried his ravages almost to the general's quarters at Tame. Essex took the alarm, and dispatched part of his cavalry in pursuit of the prince. They were joined by a regiment of infantry, under the famous John Hambden, who had acted as a colonel from the beginning of the civil war, and distinguished himself no less in the field than in

⁷. Clarendon, vol. iii.

the senate. On the skirts of Calgrave field, they overtook the Royalists, who were loaded with booty. The prince wheeled about, however, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were obliged to save themselves by flight, **after having lost some of their best officers**; and, among the rest, the much valued, and much dreaded Hambden, who was mortally wounded, and died soon after in great agonies⁹. He is said to have received his wound by the bursting of one of his own pistols.

The royal cause was supported with no less spirit in the western counties. The king's adherents in Cornwall, notwithstanding their early successes, had been obliged to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire. This neutrality lasted during the winter, but was broken in the spring, by the authority of the parliament; and the earl of Stamford having assembled an army of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, ammunition, and provisions, entered Cornwall, and advanced upon the Royalists, who were not half his number, and oppressed by every kind of necessity. He encamped on the top of a hill, near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chulleigh with twelve hundred horse, to surprise Bodmin. The Cornish Royalists, commanded by the principal men of the county, seized this opportunity of extricating themselves, by one vigorous effort, from all the dangers and difficulties with which they were surrounded. They boldly advanced up the hill, on which Stamford was encamped in four different divisions, and after an obstinate struggle, still pressing nearer and nearer, all met upon the plain at the top, where they embraced with great joy, and signalized their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations⁹.

The attention of both parties were now turned toward the West. The king sent the marquis of Hertford, and prince Maurice, brother to prince Rupert, with a reinforcement

8. Warwick's Memoirs.

9. Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

of cavalry into Cornwall. Being joined by the Cornish army, they soon over-ran the county of Devon, and advancing into Somersetshire, began to reduce it also to obedience. In the mean time, the parliament having supplied Sir William Waller, in whom they had great confidence, with a complete army, dispatched him into the same county, in order to check the progress of the Royalists, and retrieve their affairs in that quarter. After some skirmishes, in which the Royalists had the advantage, the two armies met at Landsdown-hill, which Waller had fortified. There a pitched battle was fought, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive advantage; for although the Royalists, after an obstinate engagement, gained the top of the hill, and beat the enemy from their ground, the fugitives took refuge behind a stone wall, where they maintained their post till night, and then retired to Bath, under cover of the darkness¹⁰.

Hertford and Maurice, disappointed of the success they had promised themselves, attempted to march eastward, and join the king at Oxford. But Waller hung on their rear, and harassed their army until they reached the Devises. There being reinforced with a large body of fresh troops, he so much surpassed the Royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of a battle. It was therefore resolved, that the marquis and the prince should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the royal army, should hasten back to the relief of their friends.

Waller was now so confident of capturing the infantry left at the Devises, that he wrote to the parliament their work was done; and that he should, in his next letter, inform

10. Id. *ibid.* This battle would have been more decisive, had Waller not been reinforced with 500 cavalry from London, completely covered with cuirasses, and other defensive armour. These cuirassiers were generally found to be irresistible.

them of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the king, even before the arrival of Hertford and Maurice, informed of the difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had dispatched a body of cavalry to their relief, under lord Wilmot. In order to prevent the intended junction, Waller drew up his army on Roundway-down, about two miles from the town of Devizes; and Wilmot, in hopes of being supported by the infantry, did not decline the combat. Waller's cavalry, after a smart action, were totally routed, and he himself fled with a few horse to Bristol; while the victorious Wilmot, being joined by the Cornish infantry, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity, that almost the whole body was either killed or taken prisoners ¹¹.

This important victory, preceded by so many other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their grand army, commanded by the earl of Essex. Farther discouraged, by hearing of the queen's arrival at Oxford, with ammunition and artillery; and that, having landed in Burlington-Bay, she had brought from the North a reinforcement of three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, Essex left Tame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, and retired to the neighbourhood of London. Freed from this principal enemy, the king sent his main army westward, under prince Rupert: and by the junction of that army with the Cornish Royalists, under the marquis of Hertford, a formidable force was composed; a force respectable from numbers, but still more from valour and reputation.

In hopes of profiting by the consternation into which Waller's defeat and the retreat of Essex had thrown the parliamentary party, prince Rupert resolved to undertake an enterprize worthy of the army with which he was entrusted. He accordingly advanced toward Bristol, the second city in

11. Clarendon, vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. vi.

the kingdom for riches and size. The place was in a good posture of defence, and had a garrison of three thousand five hundred men, well supplied with ammunition and provisions; but as the fortifications were found to be not perfectly regular, it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed by assault, though little provision had been made for such an operation. The Cornish men, in three divisions, attacked the west side, with a courage which nothing could repress, or for a time resist; but so great was the disadvantage of ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that although the middle division had already mounted the walls, in spite of all opposition, the assailants were in the end repulsed with considerable slaughter, and with the loss of many gallant officers. On the east side, where the approach was less difficult, prince Rupert had better success. After an obstinate struggle, a lodgement was made within the enemy's works; and Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, son of lord Say, a noted parliamentary leader, surrendered the place at discretion. He and his garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without their colours¹².

The taking of Bristol was a severe blow to the power of the parliament; and if the king, who soon after joined the camp, had boldly marched to London, before the fears of the people had time to subside, as he was advised by the more daring spirits, the war might in all probability have been finished equally to his honour and advantage. But this undertaking was judged too hazardous, on account of the number and force of the London militia; and Gloucester, lying within twenty miles of his late conquest, seemed to present to Charles an easier, and yet an important acquisition. It would put the whole course of the Severn under his command, open a communication between Wales and the west-

¹², Clarendon, vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. vi.

ern counties, and free one half of the kingdom from the dominion of the enemy ¹³.

These were the king's reasons for undertaking the siege of Gloucester in preference to any other enterprize. Before he left Bristol, however, he sent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire: and, in order to shew that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor provoked to aspire at a total victory over the parliament, he published a manifesto, in which he renewed the solemn protestation he had formerly made at the head of his army, and expressed his earnest desire of making peace, as soon as the constitution could be re-established ¹⁴.

Before this manifesto was issued, a bold attempt had been made to restore peace to the kingdom, by the celebrated Edmund Waller, so well known as a poet, and who was no less distinguished as an orator. He still continued to attend his duty in parliament, and had exerted all his eloquence in opposing those violent counsels, by which the commons were governed; and, in order to catch the attention of the house, he had often, in his harangues, employed the keenest satire and invective. But finding all opposition within doors to be fruitless, he conceived the idea of forming a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept reasonable conditions. Having founded the earl of Northumberland, and other eminent persons, whose confidence he enjoyed, he was encouraged to open his scheme to Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and to Chalener, the intimate friend of Tomkins, who had entertained similar sentiments. By these gentlemen, whose connexions lay chiefly in the city, he was informed, that the same abhorrence of war there prevailed among all men of sense and moderation. It therefore seemed not impracticable, that a combination might be formed between the peers and citizens, to refuse payment of the

¹³. May, book iii. Whitlocke, p. 69.

¹⁴. Id. *ibid*.

illegal and oppressive taxes, imposed by the parliament without the royal assent. But while this affair was in agitation, and lists were making out of such noblemen as the confederates believed to be well affected to their design, it was betrayed to Pym, by a servant of Tomkins, who had overheard their discourse. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately seized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned, and Tomkins and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors ; but Waller saved his life by counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, by bribing the puritanical clergy, and by paying a fine of ten thousand pounds ¹⁵.

The discovery of this project, and the severity exercised against the persons concerned in it, could not fail to increase the authority of the parliament ; yet so great was the consternation occasioned by the progress of the king's arms, the taking of Bristol, and the siege of Gloucester, that the cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. A multitude of women, with a petition for this purpose, crowded about the house of commons, and were so clamorous, that orders were given for dispersing them ; and a troop of horse being employed in that service, several of the women were killed and wounded. Many of the popular noblemen had deserted the parliament, and gone to Oxford. Northumberland retired to his country seat ; and Essex himself, extremely dissatisfied, exhorted the parliament to think of peace. The house of lords sent down terms of accommodation, more moderate than any that had hitherto been offered : a vote was even passed, by a majority of the commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. But this pleasing prospect was soon darkened. The zealous republicans took the alarm : a petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented to the parliament by Pennington, the facious lord mayor. The pulpits thundered their anathemas

15. Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

against malignants ; rumours of popish conspiracies were spread ; and the majority being again turned towards the violent side, all thoughts of pacification were banished, and every preparation made for war, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester ¹⁶.

That city was defended by a numerous garrison, and by a multitude of fanatical inhabitants, zealous for the crown of martyrdom. Massey, the governor, was a foldier of fortune, and by his courage and ability had much retarded the advances of the king's army. Though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit which prevailed among the soldiers and citizens. By continual sallies, he molested the Royalists in their trenches ; he gained sudden advantages over them ; and he repressed their ardour, by disputing every inch of ground. The garrison, however, was reduced to the last extremity ; when Essex, advancing to its relief, with a well-appointed army of fourteen thousand men, obliged the king to raise the siege, and threw into the city a supply of ammunition and provisions ¹⁷.

Chagrined at the miscarriage of his favourite enterprize, and determined to intercept Essex in his return, the king, by hasty marches, took possession of Newbury, before the arrival of the parliamentary army. An action was now unavoidable ; and Essex, conscious of his inferiority in cavalry, drew up his forces on an advanced ground, called Brig's-Hill, within
Sept. 20. a mile of the town. The battle was begun by the Royalists, and fought with steady and desperate courage on both sides. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry maintained their ground ; and, beside keeping up a constant fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against all the furious shocks of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentlemen, of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed,

¹⁶ Rushworth, vol. vi.

¹⁷ Clarendon, vol. iii.

Night at last put an end to the combat, and left the victory undecided. Next morning Essex pursued his march ; and although his rear was severely harrassed by prince Rupert, he reached London without losing either his cannon or baggage. The king followed him ; and taking possession of Reading, there established a garrison, to be a kind of curb upon the capital ¹⁸.

Though the king's loss, in this battle, was not very considerable with respect to numbers, his cause suffered greatly by the death of some gallant noblemen. Beside the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, who had served their royal master with courage and ability in the field, fell Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland, no less eminent in the cabinet ; the object of universal admiration while living, and of regret when dead. Devoted to the pursuits of learning, and fond of polite society, he had abstracted himself from politics till the assembling of the present parliament ; when, deeming it criminal any longer to remain inactive, he stood foremost in all attacks upon the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed, with a bold freedom, that warm love of liberty and masculine eloquence, which he had imbibed from the sublime writers of antiquity. But no sooner did he perceive the purpose of the popular leaders than, tempering the ardour of his zeal, he attached himself to his sovereign ; and, convinced that regal authority was already sufficiently reduced, he embraced the defence of those limited powers that remained to it, and which he thought necessary to the support of the English constitution. Still, however, anxious for the liberties of his country, he seems to have dreaded the decisive success even of the royal party ; and the word PEACE was often heard to break from his lips, accompanied with a sigh. Though naturally of a gay and chearful disposition, he became, from the commencement of the civil war, silent and melancholy, neglecting even a decent attention to his person :

18. Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

but on the morning of the battle of Newbury, as if he had foreseen his fate, he dressed himself with his usual elegance and neatness, giving as a reason for so doing, his desire that the *enemy* might not find his *body* in a *filthy condition*. “I am weary of the times,” added he, “and foresee much misery to my country; but believe I shall be out of it before night ¹⁹!” He charged in the front of Byron’s regiment, and was shot in the belly.

The shock which both armies had received in the battle of Newbury, discouraged them from any second trial of strength before the close of the campaign; and the declining season soon obliged them to retire into winter-quarters. There we must leave them for a time, and take a view of the progress of the war in other parts of the kingdom, and of the measures pursued by both parties for acquiring a superiority.

In the northern counties, during the summer, the marquis of Newcastle, by his extensive influence, had raised a considerable force for the king; and high hopes were entertained of success from the known loyalty and abilities of that nobleman. But in opposition to him appeared two men, on whom the fortune of the war was finally to depend, and who began about this time to be distinguished by their valour and military talents; namely, sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. The former, son of lord Fairfax, put to flight a party of royalists at Wakefield, and the latter obtained a victory over another party at Gainiborough. But the total rout of lord Fairfax, at Atherton, more than balanced both those defeats; and the marquis of Newcastle, with an army of fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull, into which the elder Fairfax had thrown himself with the remnant of his broken forces ²⁰.

After

¹⁹. Whitlocke, p. 70. Clarendon, vol. iii.

²⁰. Lord Fairfax was appointed governor of this place in the room of sir John Hotham. That gentleman and his son, repenting of their engagement, with

After having carried on the attack of Hull for some time without effect, Newcastle was beat off by an unexpected fall of the garrison, and suffered so much in the action, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, the earl of Manchester, having advanced from the eastern associated counties, and formed a junction with Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable advantage over the Royalists at Horn Castle²¹. But notwithstanding these misfortunes, the royal party still retained great interest in the northern counties; and had Yorkshire not been kept in awe by the garrison of Hull, a junction of the northern and southern armies might have been effected, and the king had perhaps been enabled to terminate the war with the campaign.

The prospect was now very different. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the king's forces, during the early part of the summer, the English parliament had sent commissioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation.

The Scots, who, not satisfied with having accomplished the restoration of the Presbyterian religion in their own country, still indulged an ardent passion for propagating that religion in the neighbouring kingdom, declared themselves ready to assist their bretheren of England; and proposed, that the two nations should enter into a Covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the English and Scottish parliaments. By the address of the younger sir Henry Vane, who took the lead among the English commissioners, was accordingly framed at Edinburgh the famous SOLEMN LEAGUE AND CONVENANT.

with the parliamentary party, had entered into a correspondence with the marquis of Newcastle, and expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands for the king. But their purpose being discovered, they were arrested, and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell victims to the severity of the parliament. Rushworth, vol. vi.

21. Warwick. Walker.

A copy

A copy of that Covenant was transmitted to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, where it was received without opposition; and after being subscribed by the lords, the commons, and an assembly of divines, it was ordered to be received by all who lived under their authority. The subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, and defend his majesty's person and authority; to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants; to humble themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation²².

The Scots were elated at the thought of being the happy instruments of extending, what they believed to be the only true religion, and of dissipating that profound darkness in which they supposed all other nations involved. The general assembly applauded the pious League, and every one was ordered by the convention of estates, to swear to the Covenant, under penalty of confiscation; besides what farther punishment it should please the parliament to inflict on the disobedient, as enemies of God, the king, and the kingdom!—Flaming with holy zeal, and determined that the sword

22. Whitlocke, p. 73. Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii. The subscribers to the Covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of sir Henry Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with respect to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed according to the word of God, and the example of the *pure churches*. (Id. *ibid.*) The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abolished, deemed these expressions quite free from ambiguity, considering their own mode of worship as the only one which corresponded in any degree to such a description. But Vane had other views. That able politician, even while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the Presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity as well as at their fanaticism, had blindly devoted himself to wilder and more dangerous opinions, which he hoped to diffuse and establish.

should carry conviction to all refractory minds, the Scottish Covenanters now prepared themselves with vigour for military service. An hundred thousand pounds, remitted from England, enabled them to complete their levies ; and, having added to their other forces a body of troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were soon ready to enter England with an army of twenty thousand men ²³.

In order to secure himself against this gathering tempest which he foresaw it would be impossible to dispel, the king turned his eye toward Ireland. The English parliament, to whose care the suppression of the Irish rebellion was committed, had never taken any effectual measures for that purpose : yet the remaining Protestants, who were now all become soldiers, joined with some new adventurers, under lord More, sir William St. Leger, sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, had in many rencounters put the Catholics to flight, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels had been obliged to raise the siege of Drogheda, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. The marquis of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, had obtained two complete victories over them, and had brought relief to all the forts that were besieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But the Irish Catholics, in their wild rage against the British planters, having laid waste the whole cultivated part of the country, the victorious Protestants were in want of the most common necessities of life ; and as the king had it not in his power to relieve them by sending money or provisions into Ireland, he resolved to embrace an expedient which would enable them to provide for their own support, and at the same time contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. He accordingly gave orders to the lord-lieutenant and the chief justices, who were entirely in his interest, to conclude a truce, for one year, with the council of the rebels at Kil-

23. Clarendon, vol iii,

24. Clarendon, vol iii, p. 100. kenny ;

kenny; and afterward to transport part of the Protestant army over to England ²⁴.

The parliament, whose business it was to find fault with every measure adopted by the king, did not let slip so fair an opportunity of reproaching him with favouring the Irish Papists. They exclaimed loudly against the truce, affirming that England must justly dread the divine vengeance for tolerating antichristian idolatry, under pretence of civil contracts and political expediency ²⁵. And the forces brought from Ireland, though the cause of so much odium, were of but little service to the royal party. Being landed at Mostyn, in North Wales, and put under the command of lord Byron, they besieged and took the castle of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington-house: but a stop was soon put to their career of glory. Elated with success, and entertaining the most profound contempt for the parliamentary forces, they sat down before Namptwich, in the depth of winter. This was the only place that now adhered to the parliament in Cheshire or its neighbourhood. Its importance was well known, and consequently the necessity of attempting its relief. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at the progress of the Royalists in this quarter, accordingly Jan. 16. assembled in Yorkshire an army of four thousand men; and having joined sir William Brereton, suddenly attacked Byron's camp. The swelling of the river Wever by a thaw, had divided one part of the royal army from the other, and the whole was routed and dispersed ²⁶.

The invasion from Scotland, in favour of the parliament, was attended with more momentous consequences. The Scottish

24. *Carle's Life of Ormond*, vol. iii. *Rushworth*, vol. vi. Some Irish Catholics came over with the Protestants, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed: (*Whitlocke*, p. 78.) and the parliament voted that no quarter, in any action, should ever be given to them. But prince Rupert, by severe retaliation, soon put a stop to this inhumanity. *Rushworth*, vol. vi.

25. *Id. ibid.*

26. *Rushworth*, ubi sup.

army, under the command of the earl of Leven, having summoned the town of Newcastle without effect, passed the Tyne, and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham, with an army of fourteen thousand men. The marquis did not decline the challenge; but before any action took place, he received intelligence of the return of sir Thomas Fairfax, with his victorious forces, from Cheshire. Afraid of being inclosed between two armies, he retreated to York; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they sat down before that city. The earl of Manchester arrived soon after with an accession of force; and York, though vigorously defended by the marquis of Newcastle, was so closely besieged by these combined armies, and reduced to such extremity, that the parliamentary generals flattered themselves with a speedy conquest.

A siege of so much importance roused the spirit of prince Rupert. By exerting himself vigorously in Lancashire and Cheshire, he collected a considerable army; and being joined by sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, he hastened to the relief of York with an army of twenty thousand men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals, on his approach, immediately raised the siege, and drew up their forces on Marston-moor, where they proposed to give battle to the Royalists. Prince Rupert entered the town by another quarter, and safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle, by interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy. Having so successfully effected his purpose, the prince thought to have remained satisfied with his good fortune. The marquis was sensible of it, and endeavoured, by many arguments, to persuade him to decline a battle; but especially as the Scottish and English armies were at variance, and must soon separate of their own accord, while a few days would bring him a reinforcement of ten thousand men.

That violent partizan, however, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, or softened by complaisance, treated this advice with contempt; and with-

out deigning to consult Newcastle, who had long been the chief prop of the royal cause in the North, he imperiously issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston-moor. The marquis refused to take any share in the command, but behaved gallantly as a volunteer. Fifty thousand British troops were, on this occasion, led to mutual slaughter. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, and victory continued long undecided. At length lieutenant-general Cromwell, who conducted the prime troops of the parliament, having broken the right wing of the Royalists, led by prince Rupert, returned from the pursuit, and determined a contest, which before seemed doubtful. Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the left wing of the royalists, and who had put the right wing of the parliamentary army to flight, being ignorant of the fortune of the day in other quarters, was surprised to see that he must again renew, with this determined leader, the combat for victory. Nor was Cromwell a little disappointed to find, that the battle was yet to be gained. The second engagement was no less furious than the first. All the hostile passions that can inflame civil or religious discord, were awakened in the breasts of the two parties; but, after the utmost efforts of courage by both, success turned wholly to the side of the parliament. The king's artillery was taken, and his army pushed off the field ²⁷.

The loss of this battle was, in itself, a severe blow to the royal cause, and its consequences were still more fatal than could have been expected. The marquis of Newcastle, enraged to find all his successful labours rendered abortive by one act of temerity, and frightened at the prospect of renewing the desperate struggle, immediately left the kingdom in despair, and continued abroad till the Restoration ²⁸. Prince Rupert,

27. Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. vi. Whitlocke, p. 89.

28. This nobleman, who was considered as the ornament of the court, and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, by a high sense of honour, and personal regard to his master, to take part

Rupert, with the utmost precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired to Lancashire, instead of throwing himself into York, and waiting his majesty's orders; so that Glenham, the lieutenant-governor, was in a few days obliged to surrender that city ²⁹. Lord Fairfax, fixing his residence in York, established his government over the whole neighbouring country; while the Scottish army marched northward, in order to join the earl of Calendar, who was advancing with ten thousand additional forces, and having formed that junction, laid siege to Newcastle, and carried it by assault ³⁰.

In the meantime, the king's affairs in the South, though there no less dangerous or critical, were conducted with more ability and success. The parliament had made extraordinary exertions in that quarter. Two armies, of ten thousand men each, were completed with all possible speed; and Essex and Waller, the two generals, had orders to march with their combined forces toward Oxford, and attempt by one enterprize to put an end to the war. Leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, the king passed with dexterity between the two armies, and marched towards Winchester. Essex gave orders to Waller to follow him, and watch his motions, while he himself marched to the West in quest of prince Maurice. But the king, eluding the vigilance of Waller, returned suddenly to Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, marched out in quest of his pursuer. The two armies faced each other at

June 19.

part in these military transactions. He disregarded the dangers of war, but its anxieties and fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence of temper. Liberal, polite, courteous, and humane, he brought a great accession of friends to the royal party. But amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft art of peace, in which he took particular delight; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation, stole him often from his rougher occupations. Though he lived abroad in extreme indigence, he disdained, by submission or composition, to recognize the usurped authority of the parliament, or look up to it for relief, but saw with indifference the sequestration of his ample fortune. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

29. Rushworth, vol. vi.

30. Whitlocke, p. 88.

Cropredy-bridge, near Banbury. The Charwel ran between them; and the king, in order to draw Waller from his advantageous post, decamped next day, and marched toward Daventry. This movement had the desired effect. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to ford the river, while he himself passed the bridge with the main body, and fell upon the king's rear with his whole forces. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued back to the bridge with great slaughter³¹.

The king thought he might now safely leave the remains of Waller's army behind him, and march westward against Essex, who carried all before him in that quarter. He accordingly followed the parliamentary general; and Essex, convinced of his inferiority, retired into Cornwall, entreating the parliament to send an army to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton was dispatched for that purpose, but came too late. Cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, Essex's army was reduced to the greatest extremity. The king pressed them on one side, prince Maurice on another, and sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex and some of his principal officers escaped in a boat to Plymouth; and Balfour, with the horse, having passed the king's out-posts in a thick fog, got safe to the parliamentary garisons; but the foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, ammunition, and baggage³².

By this surrender, which was no small cause of triumph to the Royalists, the king obtained what he stood much in need of; and yet his enemies were not materially injured, as the troops were preserved. In order to conceal their disgrace, the commons voted thanks to Essex for his courage and conduct; and having armed his troops anew, they ordered Man-

31. Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. v. Ruthven, a Scottish officer, who had been created earl of Brentford, attended the king as general in these operations.

32. Whitlocke, p. 98. Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. vi.

chester and Cromwell, as well as Waller and Middleton to join him, and offer battle to the king. Charles, having thrown succours into Deddington-castle, long besieged by the parliamentary forces, and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, had taken post at Newbury, where an obstinate battle, as we have seen, was formerly fought. There the generals of the parliament attacked him with great vigour; and the Royalists, though they defended themselves with their wonted valour, were at last overpowered by numbers. Night came seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total defeat. Leaving his cannon and baggage at Deddington-castle, the king retreated to Wallingford, and afterward to Oxford; where, being joined by prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, with considerable bodies of cavalry, he ventured again to advance toward the enemy. They did not chuse to give him battle, though still greatly superior in forces; and the king had the satisfaction of bringing off his cannon from Deddington-castle, in the face of his adversaries, and of distributing his army into winter quarters without molestation³³.

O&A. 27.

Nov. 23.

During this season of inaction, certain disputes between the parliamentary generals, which were supposed to have disturbed their military operations, were revived in London; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. The cause of these disputes will require explanation.

There had long prevailed among the Puritans, or parliamentary party, a secret distinction, which, though concealed for a time, by the dread of the king's power, began to discover itself in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer, and at last broke forth in high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first sheltered themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now openly ap-

33. Rushworth, vol. vii.

peared as a distinct party, actuated by different views and pretensions. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, nor any interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns. Each congregation, according to their principles, united voluntarily, and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church; and as the election of the congregation was alone sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character and office, to which no benefits were annexed, all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy. No ceremony, no institution, no imposition of hands, was thought requisite, as in every other church, to convey a right to holy orders; but the soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated by a supposed intercourse and immediate communication with heaven³⁴.

Nor were the Independents less distinguished from the Presbyterians by their political than their religious principles. The Presbyterians were only desirous of restraining within narrow limits the prerogatives of the crown, and of reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate; but the Independents, more ardent in their pursuit of liberty, aspired at a total abolition of the monarchical, and even of the aristocratical branch of the English constitution. They had projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent. Of course, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace; rigidly adhering to the maxim, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign

34. Sir Ed. Walker's *Hist. of Independen* v. Hume, vol. vii. The Independents were the first Christian sect, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration. The reason assigned by Mr. Hume for this liberty of conscience, is truly ingenious. The mind, say he, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. *Hist. Eng.* vol. vii.

should throw away the scabbard. And by widely diffusing the apprehensions of vengeance, they engaged multitudes who differed from them in opinion, both with respect to religion and government, to oppose all terms of pacification with their offended prince ³⁵.

Sir Henry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, were considered as the leaders of the Independents. The earl of Northumberland, proud of his rank, regarded with horror their scheme, which would confound the nobility with the meanest of the people. The earl of Essex, who began to foresee the pernicious consequences of the war, adhered to the Presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The earls of Warwick and Denbigh, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Waller, Hollis, Masséy, Whitlocke, Maynard, Glyn, and other eminent men, had embraced the same sentiments; so that a considerable majority in parliament, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the Presbyterian party ³⁶. But the Independents, first by cunning and deceit, and afterward by violence, accomplished the ruin of their rivals, as well as of the royal cause.

Provoked at the impeachment which the king had lodged against him, the earl of Manchester had long forwarded the war with alacrity; but being a man of humanity and sound principles, the view of the public calamities, and the prospect of a total subversion of the established government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote peace on any safe and equitable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, of not having pushed to the utmost the advantages obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwell accused him, in the house of Commons, of wilfully neglecting at Deddington-castle a favourable opportunity of finishing the war, by a total defeat of the Royalists. Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that Crom-

³⁵. Id. *ibid*.

³⁶. Hume, *ubi sup*.

well, on another occasion, in order to induce him to embrace a scheme to which he thought the parliament would not agree, warmly said, "My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army, which shall give law both to king and parliament ³⁷." — "This discourse," continued Manchester, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of deep designs. And he has even ventured to tell me," added the earl, "that it would never be well with England till I was Mr. Montague, and there was ne'er a lord or peer in the realm ³⁸."

These violent dissensions brought matters to extremity between the two sects, and pushed the Independents to the immediate execution of their designs. The command of the sword was their grand object; and this they craftily obtained, under pretence of new modelling the army. The first intimation of such a measure, conformable to the genius of the hypocritical policy of that age, was communicated from the pulpit on a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, appointed through the influence of the Independents. All the reigning divisions in the parliament were ascribed, by the fanatical preachers, to the selfish ends pursued by the members; in whose hands, it was observed, were lodged all the considerable commands in the army, and all the lucrative offices in the civil administration. "It cannot be expected," added these spiritual demagogues, "that men, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or the war to a successful issue." The Independents in parliament caught the same tone, and represented the concurrence of so many godly men, in different congregations, in lamenting one evil, as the effect of the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. Such, in particular, was the language of sir Henry Vane; who, therefore, entreated the members, in

37. Clarendon, vol. v. •

38. Id. ibid.

vindication of their own honour, and in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private views, and renounce every office attended with profit or advantage. Cromwell also acted his part to admiration. He declared, That until there was a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could possibly prosper; for although the parliament, he added, had doubtless done wisely on the commencement of hostilities, in engaging several of its members in the most dangerous military commands, in order to satisfy the nation that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people, affairs were now changed; and a change of measures, he affirmed, must take place, if they ever hoped to terminate the war to advantage³⁹.

On the other side, it was urged by the Presbyterians, and particularly by Whitlocke, who endeavoured to shew the inconveniency, as well as danger of the projected alteration, That the rank possessed by such as were members of either house of parliament prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain views distinct from those embraced by the persons that employed them; that no maxim in policy was more undisputed than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connection between the civil and military power, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former; that the Greeks and Romans, the wisest politicians, and the most passionate lovers of liberty, had always entrusted to their senators the command of the armies of the state; and that men, whose interests were involved with those of the public, and who possessed a vote in civil deliberations, would alone sufficiently respect the authority of the parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom

³⁹ Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. v.

it was committed to them⁴⁰. Notwithstanding these arguments, a committee was appointed to frame what was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, a few offices, which were specified, excepted; and through the envy of some, the false modesty of others, and the republican and fanatical views of many, it at last received the sanction of parliament.

In consequence of this ordinance, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of both houses. Cromwell, who was a member of the lower house, should also have been discarded; but this impartiality would have disappointed the views of those who had introduced the *Self-denying Ordinance*. Care was therefore taken, at the time the other officers resigned their commissions, that he should be sent with a body of horse to relieve Taunton, then besieged by the Royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were dispatched for his immediate attendance in parliament. But sir Thomas Fairfax, the new general, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, desired leave to retain for a few days lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he wrote to the parliament, would be useful in supplying the place of those officers who had resigned: and shortly after he begged, with much earnestness, that Cromwell might be permitted to serve during the ensuing campaign⁴¹.

Thus, my dear Philip, the Independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the Presbyterians; and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax, but in reality upon Cromwell. Fairfax, who was equally eminent for courage and humanity, sincere in his professions, disinterested in his views, and open in his conduct, would have formed one of the most shining charac-

40. Whitlocke, p. 114, 115.

41. Clarendon, vol. v. Whitlocke, p. 141.

ters of that age, had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but war, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate. Cromwell, by whose sagacity and insinuation the general was entirely governed, though naturally of an imperious and domineering temper, knew to employ, when necessary, the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, and the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. His vigorous capacity enabled him to form the deepest designs, and his enterprising spirit was not dismayed at the boldest undertakings ⁴².

During this competition between the Presbyterians and Independents, for power, both piously united in bringing to the block the venerable archbishop Laud, who had remained a prisoner ever since his first impeachment. He was now accused of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. The same violence, and the same illegality of an accumulative crime and constructive evidence, which had appeared in the case of Strafford, were employed against Laud: yet, after a long trial, and the examination of above an hundred and fifty witnesses, the commons found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against him, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away his life. "No one," said the aged primate, "can be more willing to send me out of the world, than I am desirous
A. D. 1645.
"to go." Seven peers only voted on this important question, the rest absenting themselves either from fear or shame ⁴³.

This new example of the vindictive spirit of the commons, promised little success to the negotiations for peace, which were soon after set on foot at ^{Jan. 30.} Uxbridge; where sixteen commissioners from the king, met

⁴². Hume, vol. vii.

⁴³. Warwick, p. 169.

with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended by some Scottish commissioners. It was agreed that the Scottish and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands with respect to three important articles; religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively examined and discussed, in conferences with the king's commissioners⁴⁴. But it was soon found impracticable to come to an agreement in regard to any of those articles.

Besides the insuperable difficulties in regard to religion, the article of the militia was an eternal bar against all accommodation. The king's partizans had always maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the effectual measures taken, in 1641, for the security of public liberty, were either feigned or groundless. Charles however offered, in order to cure their apprehensions, that the arms of the state should be entrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, and the other by the parliament. But the parliamentary commissioners positively insisted on being entrusted with the absolute power of the sword, for at least seven years. This, they affirmed, was essential to their safety. On the other hand, the king's commissioners asked, whether there was any equity in securing only one party, and leaving the other, during the space of seven years, entirely at the mercy of their enemies? And whether, if unlimited authority was entrusted to the parliament for so long a term, it would not be easy for them to keep for ever possession of the sword, as well as of every department of civil power and jurisdiction⁴⁵? After the debate had been carried on

to

44. Dugdale, p. 758. Whitlocke, p. 121.

45. Dugdale, p. 877. 'The parliamentary commissioners were no less unreasonable in regard to Ireland.' They demanded, That the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the management of the war should be given up entirely to the parliament; and after the conquest of Ireland, that the

to no purpose for twenty days, the commissioners separated, and returned to London and Oxford.

While the king was thus endeavouring, though in vain, to bring about an accommodation with the English parliament, by the most humiliating concessions, some events happened in Scotland that seemed to promise a more prosperous issue to his declining affairs. James Graham, marquis of Montrose, a man of a bold and generous spirit, filled with indignation to see the majority of two kingdoms conspire against their lawful, and, in many respects, indulgent sovereign, undertook by his own credit, and that of a few friends, who had not yet forgot their allegiance, to raise such commotions in Scotland, as should oblige the Covenanters to recall their forces. In this design he was assisted by a body of the Macdonalds, who came over from Ireland to recover the country of Kintore, out of which they had been driven about fifty years before, by the Argyle family. With these adventurers, who amounted to about twelve hundred, and eight hundred native Highlanders, very indifferently armed, he defeated an army of six thousand Covenanters, under lord Elcho, near Perth, and killed two thousand of them⁴⁶.

In consequence of this victory, by which he acquired arms and ammunition, Montrose was enabled to prosecute his enterprize, though not without incredible difficulties. The greater part of the low country Scots were extremely attached to the Covenant; and such as bore affection to the royal cause were over-awed by the established authority of the opposite party. But Montrose, whose daring soul delighted in perilous undertakings, eluded every danger, and seized the most unexpected advantages. He retreated sixty miles in the face of a superior army without sustaining any loss: he took Dundee by assault, and defeated the marquis of Argyle

the nomination of the lord-lieutenant and of the judges, or in other words, the sovereignty of that kingdom, also should remain in their hands. *Ibid.* p. 826.

46. Rushworth, vol. vi. Wilsart, chap. v.

at Innerlochy, after having gratified the Macdonalds with the pillage of that nobleman's country⁴⁷. The power of the Campbells being thus broken, the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cause, joined Montrose in more considerable bodies. By their assistance he successively defeated Baillie and Urrey, two officers of reputation, sent from England to crush him, and who were confident of victory from the superiority of their numbers, as well as from the discipline of their troops. He defeated Baillie a second time, with great slaughter, at Alford⁴⁸. And the terror of his name, and the admiration of his valour being now great all over the north of Scotland, he summoned his friends and partizans, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order there to restore the king's authority, and give a final blow to the power of the Covenanters.

But, unhappily for Charles, before Montrose could carry his success so far as to oblige the Covenanters to withdraw any part of their forces, events had taken place in England, which rendered the royal cause almost desperate. In consequence of the change in the formation of the parliamentary army, the officers, in most regiments, assumed the spiritual, as well as military command over their men. They supplied the place of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, and pious exhortations. These wild effusions were mistaken by the soldiers, and perhaps even by those who uttered them, for divine illuminations; and gave new weight to the authority of the officers, and new energy to the valour of their troops. In marching to battle, they lifted up their souls to God in psalms and hymns, and made the whole field resound with spiritual as well as martial music⁴⁹. The sense of present

47. Burnet, *Hist.* vol. I. Wishart, chap. 10.

48. Rushworth, vol. viii. Wishart, chap. 11.

49. Rushworth, vol. vi. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*.

danger was lost in the prospect of eternal felicity; wounds were esteemed meritorious in so holy a cause, and death martyrdom. Every one seemed animated, not with the vain idea of conquest or the ambition of worldly greatness, but by the brighter hope of attaining in heaven an everlasting crown of glory.

The Royalists, ignorant of the influence of this enthusiasm, in rousing the courage of their antagonists, treated it with contempt and ridicule. In the meantime, their own licentious conduct, if less ludicrous, was less becoming the character of soldiers or of citizens. More formidable even to their friends than to their enemies, they in some places committed universal spoil and havock, and laid the country waste by their undistinguishing rapine. So great, in a word, was the distress become, that many of the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy, now wished for such success to the parliamentary forces as might put a stop to these oppressions: and the depredations committed in Scotland, by the Highlanders under Montrose, made the approach of the royal army the object of terror to both parties, over the whole island⁵⁰.

Under these disadvantages, it was impossible for the king much longer to continue the war: the very licentiousness of his own troops was sufficient to ruin his cause. On the opening of the campaign, however, being joined by the princes Rupert and Maurice, he left Oxford with an army of fifteen thousand men, determined to strike some decisive blow. The new-modelled parliamentary army, under Fair-

50. Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. v. This licentiousness was partly occasioned by the want of pay; but other causes conspired to carry it to its present degree of enormity. Prince Rupert, negligent of the interests of the people, and fond of the soldiery, had all along indulged them in unwarrantable liberties. Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder; and too many other commanders, Sir Richard Grenville, Goring, and Gerrard, improved on the pernicious example. *Ibid.*

fax and Cromwell, was posted at Windsor, and amounted to about twenty-two thousand men. Yet Charles, in spite of their vigilance, effected the relief of Chester, which had long been blockaded by sir William Brereton; and, in his return southward, he took Leicester by storm, after a furious assault, and gratified his soldiers with an immense booty. Fifteen hundred prisoners fell into his hands¹.

Alarmed at this success, Fairfax, who had received orders from the parliament to besiege Oxford during the king's absence, immediately left that place, and marched to Leicester, with an intention of giving battle to the royal army. Charles, in the meantime, was advancing toward Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was already in some forwardness; so that the two armies were within a few miles of each other, before they were aware of their danger. The king called a council of war; in which it was rashly resolved, through the influence of prince Rupert and the impatient spirit of the nobility and gentry, immediately to engage Fairfax; though the Royalists had the prospect of being soon reinforced with three thousand horse and two thousand foot, under experienced officers. They ac-

June 14. cordingly advanced upon the parliamentary army, which was drawn up in order of battle on a rising ground, in the neighbourhood of the village of Naseby.

The king himself commanded the main body of the royal army, prince Rupert the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. The main body of the parliamentary army was conducted by Fairfax, seconded by Skippon; the right wing by Cromwell; the left by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. Prince Rupert began the charge with his usual impetuosity and success. Ireton's whole wing was routed and chased off the field, and himself wounded and taken prisoner. The king led on his main body with firmness; and displayed, in the action, all the conduct of an experi-

enced general, and all the courage of a gallant soldier. The parliamentary infantry was broken, in spite of the utmost efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, and would have been totally routed, if the body of reserve had not been brought to their relief. Meanwhile Cromwell, having broken the left wing of the Royalists, under Langdale, and pursued it a little way, returned upon the king's infantry, and threw them into confusion. At length prince Rupert, who had imprudently wasted his time in a fruitless attempt to seize the enemy's artillery, joined the king with his cavalry, though too late to turn the tide of the battle. "One charge more," cried Charles, "and we recover the day!" But his troops, aware of the disadvantage under which they laboured, could by no means be prevailed on to renew the combat. He was obliged to quit the field; and although the parliament had a thousand, and he only eight hundred men slain, scarce any victory could be more complete. Near five thousand of the Royalists were made prisoners, among whom were five hundred officers; and all the king's baggage, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy⁵².

52. Whitlocke, p. 145, 146. Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. iv. Among other spoils, the king's cabinet fell into the hands of the enemy. It contained copies of his letters to the queen, which were afterward wantonly published by the parliament, accompanied with many malicious comments. They are written with delicacy and tenderness; and, at worst, only shew that he was too fondly attached to a woman of wit and beauty, who had the misfortune to be a papist, and who had acquired a dangerous ascendant over him. She is certainly chargeable with some of his most unpopular, and even arbitrary measures.

L E T T E R VII.

ENGLAND *from the Battle of Naseby to the Execution of CHARLES I. and the Subversion of the Monarchy, in 1649.*

AFTER the battle of Naseby, the king's affairs went so fast to ruin in all quarters, that he ordered the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to make his escape beyond sea, and save at least one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. The prince retired to Jersey, and afterward to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the West. The king himself retreated first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, in hopes of raising a body of infantry in that loyal but exhausted country.

In the mean time, the parliamentary generals and the Scots made themselves masters of almost every place of importance in the kingdom, and every where routed and dispersed the Royalists. Fairfax and Cromwell immediately retook Leicester; and having also reduced Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, they resolved, before they divided their forces, to besiege Bristol, into which prince Rupert had thrown himself, with an intention of defending to the uttermost a place of so much consequence. Vast preparations were made for an enterprize, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of the governor, was expected to require the greatest exertions of valour and perseverance. But so precarious a quality, in most men, is military courage, that a poorer defence was not made by any town during the course of the war. Though prince Rupert had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to hold out four months if the garrison did not mutiny, he surrendered the place a few days after, on articles of capitulation, and at the first summons¹.

1. Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. iv.

Charles, astonished at this unexpected event, which was scarcely less fatal to the royal cause than the battle of Naseby, and full of indignation at the manner in which so important a city had been given up at very time he was collecting forces for its relief, instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and ordered him quit the Sep. 24. kingdom. After an unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Chester, the king himself took refuge with the remains of his broken army in Oxford, where he continued during the winter season ².

Fairfax and Cromwell having divided their armies, after the taking of Bristol, reduced to obedience all the west and middle counties of England; while the Scots made themselves masters of Carlisle, and other places of importance in the North. Lord Digby, in attempting to break into Scotland, and join Montrose with twelve hundred horse, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by colonel Copely; and, to complete the king's misfortunes, news soon after arrived, that Montrose himself, the only remaining hope of the royal party, was at last routed.

That gallant nobleman, having descended into the low country, had defeated the whole force of the Covenanters at Kilfyth, and left them no remains of an army in Scotland. Edinburgh opened its gates to him; and many of the nobility and gentry, who secretly favoured the royal cause, when they saw a force able to support them, declared openly for it. But Montrose, advancing still farther south, in hopes of being joined by lord Digby, was surprised, through the negligence of his scouts, at Philiphaugh, in Eterick Forest, by a strong body of cavalry under David Leslie, who had been detached from the Scottish army in England, in order to check the career of this heroic leader; and, after a sharp conflict, in which he displayed the highest exertions of va-

2. Id. *ibid.*

lour, the marquis was obliged to quit the field, and fly with his broken forces into the Highlands ³.

The Covenanters used their victory with great rigour. Many of the prisoners were butchered in cold blood; and sir Robert Spotswood, sir Philip Nisbet, sir William Rolls, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, son of the bishop of Murray, and William Murray, son of the earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The clergy incited the civil power to this severity, and even solicited that more blood might be spilt upon the scaffold. The pulpit thundered against all who did the work of the Lord deceitfully. "Thine eye shall not pity!" and "Thou shalt not spare!" "were maxims frequently inculcated after every execution ⁴.

The king's condition, during the winter, was truly deplorable. Harassed by discontented officers, who over-rated those services and sufferings, which they now apprehended must for ever go unrewarded, and by generous friends, whose misfortunes wrung his heart with sorrow; oppressed by past disasters, and apprehensive of future calamities, he was in no period of his unfortunate life more sincerely to be pitied. In vain did he attempt to negotiate with the parliament: they would not deign to listen to him, but gave him to understand, that he must yield at discretion ⁵. The only remaining body of his troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour, and which he had ordered to march to-

3. Wishart, chap. 13. Rushworth, vol. vii. Montrose's army, when attacked by Leslie, was much reduced by the desertion of the Highlanders, who had returned home in great numbers, in order to secure the plunder they had acquired in the South, and which they considered as inexhaustible wealth. Id. *ibid*.

4. Burnet, *Hist.* vol. i. See also Guthrie's *Memoirs*. The Presbyterians about this time, by considering themselves as the chosen people of God, and regulating their conduct by the maxims of the Old Testament, seem to have departed totally from the spirit of the Gospel. Instead of forgiving their enemies, they had no bowels of compassion for those who differed from them in the slightest article of faith.

5. Clarendon, vol. iv.

ward Oxford under lord Astley, in order to reinforce the A. D. 1646. garrison of that place, was met by colonel Mor-March. 22. gan at Stowe, and totally defeated. "You have done your work," said Astley, to the parliamentary officers, by whom he was taken prisoner; "and may now go to play, unless you chuse to fall out among yourselves" ⁶.

Thus deprived of all hope of prevailing over the inflexibility of the parliament, either by arms or treaty, the only prospect of better fortune that remained to the king was in the dissensions of his enemies. The civil and religious disputes between the Presbyterians and Independents agitated the whole kingdom. The presbyterian religion was now established in England in all its forms: and its followers, pleading the eternal obligations of the Covenant, to extirpate schism and heresy, menaced their opponents with the same rigid persecution, under which they themselves had groaned, while held in subjection by the hierarchy. But although Charles entertained some hopes of reaping advantage from these divisions, he was much at a loss to determine with which side it would be most for his interest to take part. The Presbyterians were, by their principles, less inimical to monarchy, but they were bent upon the extirpation of prelacy; whereas the Independents, though resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government, as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, might possibly admit the re-establishment of the hierarchy; and Charles was, at all times, willing to put episcopal jurisdiction in competition with regal authority.

But the approach of Fairfax toward Oxford put an end to these deliberations, and induced the king to embrace a mea-

6. Rushworth, vol. vii. It was the same Astley, who made the following short, but emphatical prayer, before he led on his men at the battle of Edgehill: "O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget thee, do not thou forget me!" and then cried, "March on boys!" Warwick, p. 229.

sure that must ever be considered as imprudent. Afraid of falling into the hands of his insolent enemies, and of being led in triumph by them, he resolved to throw himself on the generosity of the Scots; without sufficiently reflecting that he must, by such a step, disgust his English subjects of all denominations, and that the Scottish Covenanters, in whom he meant to repose so much confidence, were not only his declared enemies; but now acted as auxiliaries to the English parliament. He left Oxford, however, and retired to their camp before Newark. The Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprise at the appearance of Charles, though previously acquainted with his design; and, while they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, and appointed him a guard, under pretence of protecting him, they made him in reality a prisoner ⁷.

The next step which the Scots took, in regard to the unfortunate monarch, was to assure the English parliament, that they had entered into no treaty with the king, and that his arrival among them was altogether unexpected. Sensible, however, of the value of their prisoner, and alarmed at some motions of the English army, they thought proper to retire northward, and fixed their camp at Newcastle. This movement was highly agreeable to Charles, who now began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of protection from the Scots. But he soon found cause to alter his opinion; and had, in the mean time, little reason to be pleased with his situation. All his friends were kept at a distance, and all correspondence with them was prohibited. And the Cove-
 A. D. 1647.
 Jan. 30. nanters, after insulting him from the pulpit, and engaging him, by deceitful or unavailing negotiations, to disarm his adherents in both kingdoms, agreed to deliver him up to the English parliament, on condition of being paid their arrears, which were compounded at four

7. Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. v.

hundred thousand pounds sterling⁸. The king was accordingly put into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners; and conducted under a guard to Holmby, in the county of Northampton.

The civil war was now over. The Scots returned to their own country; and every one submitted to the authority of the ruling powers. But the dominion of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner was the king subdued, than the division between the Presbyterians and Independents became every day more evident; and as nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition, after the sacred boundaries of law had been violated, the Independents, who, in consequence of the Self-denying Ordinance, had obtained the command of the army, solaced themselves with the prospect of a new revolution. Such a revolution as they desired was accomplished by the assistance of the military power, which tumbled the parliament from its slippery throne.

The manner in which this revolution was effected, it must now be our business to examine, and to notice the most striking circumstances that accompanied it. The Presbyterians still retained the superiority among the commons, and all the peers, except lord Say, were esteemed of that party; but the Independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army, and the troops on the new establishment were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit. Aware of this, as well as that their antagonists trusted to the sword, in their projects for acquiring an ascendant,

8. Rushworth, vol. vii. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. The infamy of this transaction had such an effect on the members of the Scottish parliament, that they voted the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and declared, That as he had *refused to take the Covenant*, which was *pressed* on him, it became not the *godly* to concern themselves about his future *welfare*. And after this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract its vote. (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 244.) Such influence had the presbyterian clergy in those days!

the presbyterian party in parliament, under pretence of easing the public burdens, obtained a vote for disbanding one part of the army, and for sending another part of it into Ireland, in order to subdue the rebels in that kingdom⁹.

The army had small inclination to the service of Ireland, a barbarous country laid waste by massacres, and still less to disband. Most of the officers having risen from the lowest conditions, were alarmed at the thought of returning to their original poverty, at a time when they hoped to enjoy, in ease and tranquillity, that pay which they had earned through so many dangers and fatigues. They entered into mutinous combinations; and the two houses of parliament, under apprehensions for their own safety, inconsiderately sent Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the secret authors of all these discontents, to make *offers* to the army, and enquire into the cause of its *distempers*.

This was the crisis for Cromwell to lay the foundation of his future greatness; and he did not fail to take advantage of it. By his suggestion, a measure was embraced, which at once brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a kind of military parliament was formed; consisting, first, of a council of the principal officers, in imitation of the house of peers; and next, of a more free representation of the army, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *Agitators*, from each troop or company¹⁰. This terrible consistory declared, That they found no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances*; and immediately voted the *offers* of the parliament *unsatisfactory*¹¹.

The two houses of parliament made one more trial of their authority; they voted, that all the troops that did not engage to serve in Ireland, should instantly be disbanded in their quarters. In answer to this vote, the council of the

9. Rushworth, vol. vii.

10. Id. ibid.

11. Whitlocke, p. 250.

army, which was entirely governed by Cromwell, commanded a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And, at the same time that they thus prepared themselves for op-^{June 3.} position to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour. They sent to Holmby, where the king was still confined, a party of horse, under cornet Joyce, a famous Agitator; and this rough soldier, rudely entering the royal apartment, and pointing to his troopers, when asked for his authority, conducted the astonished monarch to the rendezvous of the army, at Triploheath, near Cambridge¹².

The parliament, when informed of this event, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Nor was Fairfax, the general, who was totally ignorant of the enterprise of Joyce, a little surpris'd at the arrival of his sovereign. That bold measure had been solely concerted by Cromwell; who, by seizing the king's person, and thus depriving the parliament of any means of accommodation with him, hoped to be able to dictate to them, in the name of the army, what conditions he thought proper. He accordingly engaged Fairfax, over whom he had acquired the most absolute ascendant, to advance with the troops to St. Alban's, in order to overawe the deliberations of the two houses. This movement had the desired effect. The resolution, by which the military petitioners had been declared public enemies, was recalled¹³; and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect their purposes, entered into a negotiation with their masters, without advancing any nearer to the capital.

In that negotiation, the advantages were greatly in favour of the army. They had not only the sword in their hand, but the parliament was now become the object of general hatred and aversion, as much as ever it had been the ido of superstitious veneration. The Self-denying Ordinance, in-

2. Clar-endon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. vii.

13. Id ib

troduced only to serve a temporary purpose, was soon laid aside, by tacit consent; and the members sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in oppressing the helpless people. Though near one half the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered, the taxes and impositions were far higher than in any former period of the English government. The excise, an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation, had been introduced: and it was now extended over provisions, and the common necessities of life. But what excited the most universal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the country committees; which could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish without law or remedy¹⁴. They interposed even in questions of private property; and, under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies¹⁵. Thus, my dear Philip, instead of one Star-chamber, which had been abolished, a great number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority.

The parliamentary leaders, conscious of their decay in popularity, were reduced to despair on the approach of the army; and the army, no less sensible of it, were thereby encouraged in their usurpations on the parliament; in which they copied exactly the model set them by the parliament itself, in its late usurpations upon the crown. They rose every day in their demands: one claim was no sooner yielded, than another, still more enormous and exorbitant, was presented. At first they pretended only to petition for what concerned themselves as soldiers; then, they must have a vindication of their character; anon, it was necessary that their enemies should be punished; and, at last, they claimed a right of new-moulding the government, and of settling the nation¹⁶. They even proceeded so far as to name eleven

14. Clement Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. Rushworth, vol. vi. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv.

15. *Id. ibid.*

16. Rushworth, vol. vii. and viii.

members, the very leaders of the presbyterian party, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army, and evil counsellors to the parliament: and they insisted, that these members should be immediately sequestered from parliament, and thrown into prison¹⁷. The commons replied, that they could not proceed so far upon a general charge. The army produced, as precedents, the cases of Strafford and Laud; and the obnoxious members themselves, not willing to be the occasion of discord, begged leave to retire from the house¹⁸.

The army seemed satisfied with this proof of submission; and, in order to preserve appearances, they removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading, still carrying the king along with them. Nor was Charles displeased at this jealous watchfulness over his person. He now began to find of what consequence he was to both parties; and fortune, amid all his calamities, seemed again to flatter him. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than formerly; and even invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance toward the settlement of the nation. The chief officers of the army treated him with regard, and talked upon all occasions of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. Nay the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on, in the public declarations of the military body; so that the Royalists, every where, entertained hopes of the re-establishment of monarchy¹⁹.

Though the king kept his ear open to all proposals, and hoped to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained more hopes of an accommodation with the army than the parliament, whose rigour he had severely felt. To

17. The names of these members were sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, Hollis, Massay, Glyn, Long, Harley, Nichols. Rushworth, vol. vii.

18. Id. *ibid*.

19. Rushworth, *ubi sup*.

this opinion he was particularly inclined, by the proposal sent from the council of officers for the settlement of the nation ; in which they neither insisted on the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the Royalists, the very points he had the greatest reluctance to yield, and which had rendered every former negotiation abortive. He also hoped, that, by gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over the whole military power, and at once re-instate himself in his civil authority. To Cromwell he offered the garter, a peerage, and the command of the army : and to Ireton, the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor did he think that private gentlemen, by birth, could entertain more ambitious views ²⁰.

Cromwell, willing to keep a door open for an accommodation with the king, if the course of events should render it necessary, pretended to listen to these secret negotiations ; but he continued, at the same time, his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and of depriving it of all means of resistance. For this purpose it was required, that the militia of the city of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those, who during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. The parliament complied even with so imperious a demand ; hoping to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering its authority and influence. But the impatience of the city deprived that assembly of all prospect of advantage from its cautious measures, and afforded the army a plausible pretext for their concerted violence. A petition against the alteration of the militia was carried to Westminster, accompanied by a seditious multitude, who besieged the house of commons, and obliged the members to reverse the vote they had so lately passed ²¹.

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to

20. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

21. *Rushworth*, vol. vii.

Reading, than the army was put in motion, and marched toward the capital; in order to vindicate, as they said, the invaded privileges of parliament against the seditious citizens, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. They were met on Hounslow-heath by the speakers of the two houses, accompanied with eight peers, and about sixty commoners; who having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves before the army with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity, complaining of the violence put upon them, and craving protection²². Thus encouraged, the army advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and reinstate the violated parliament.

Meanwhile the remaining members prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and determined to resist the violence of the army. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, renewed their orders for enlisting troops, and commanded the train-bands to man the lines. But the terror of an universal pillage, and even of a massacre, having seized the timid inhabitants, the parliament was obliged to submit. The army marched in triumph through the city, but without committing any outrage. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who resumed their seats, as if nothing had happened; and the eleven impeached members, being accused as the authors of the tumult, were expelled. Seven peers were impeached; the lord mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens and officers of the militia were committed to prison; the lines around the city were levelled; the militia restored to the independents; several regiments were quartered in Whitehall and the Mews; and the parliament being reduced to absolute servitude, a day was appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of its liberty²³!

The independents, who had secretly concurred in all the encroachments of the military, upon the civil power, exulted

²². Rushworth, vol. viii.

²³. Id. ibid. Hume, vol. vii.

in their victory. They had now a near prospect of moulding the government into the form of that imaginary republic, which had long been the object of their wishes; and they vainly expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the nation, without perceiving that they themselves, by such a conduct, must become slaves to some military despot. Yet were the leaders of this party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, and others, the men in England most celebrated for sound thought and deep design: so certain it is, that an extravagant passion for sway will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of those measures, which seem to tend to their own aggrandisement.—Men, under the influence of such a passion, may be said to see objects only on one side; hence the hero and the politician, as well as the lover, in the failure of their self-deceiving projects, have often occasion to lament their own blindness.

The king, however, derived some temporary advantages from this revolution. The leaders of the army, having now established their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring their captive sovereign to his palace of Hampton-court; where he lived, for a time, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. He still entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success, and declined all advances from the parliament. Cromwell, it is asserted, really intended to have made a private bargain with the king, but found insuperable difficulties in attempting to reconcile the military fanatics to such a measure. This reason, it is at least certain, he assigned for more seldom admitting the visits of the king's friends. The Agitators, he said, had already rendered him odious to the army; by representing him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion ²⁴.

24. Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. viii.

Cromwell thus finding, or pretending to find, that he could not safely close with the king's proposals, affected to be much alarmed for his majesty's safety. Desperate projects, he asserted, were formed by the Agitators against the life of the captive monarch; and he was apprehensive, he said, that the commanding officers might not be able to restrain those desperate enthusiasts from effecting their bloody purpose²⁵. In order, however, that no precaution might seem to be neglected, the guards were doubled upon him, the promiscuous concourse of people was restrained, and a more jealous care was exerted in attending his person; all under colour of protecting him from danger, but really with a view of making his present situation uneasy to him.

These artifices soon produced the desired effect. Charles took a sudden resolution of withdrawing himself from Hampton-court. He accordingly made his escape, attended by three gentlemen, in whom he placed particular confidence, namely, Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legg, though seemingly without any rational plan for the future disposal of his person. He first went toward the sea-coast, and expressed great anxiety, that a certain ship, in which it was supposed he intended to have transported himself beyond sea, had not arrived. After secreting himself for some time at Titchfield, he determined to put himself under the protection of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, nephew to Dr. Hammond his favourite chaplain, but intimately connected with the republican party. For this purpose, Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched to that island, but with orders not to discover to the governor the place where the king lay concealed, until they had obtained a promise from him, that he would not deliver up his majesty to the parliament or army. Such a promise would have been a slender security; yet Ashburnham imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield, without exacting

25. *Id. ibid.*

it. And the king was obliged to accompany him to Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight; where, although received with expressions of duty and respect, he found himself in reality a prisoner ²⁶.

It is impossible to say how far the firmest mind may, on some occasions, be influenced by the apprehensions of personal danger; but it is certain that Charles never took a weaker step, or one more agreeable to his enemies, than in abandoning his palace of Hampton-court. There, though a captive, he was of more consequence than he could possibly be any where else, unless at the head of an army. He was now indeed far enough removed from the fury of the Agitators, but he was also totally separated from his adherents, and still at the disposal of the army. The generals could, no doubt, have sent him at any time, while in their custody, to such a place of confinement; but the attempt would have been apt to rouse the returning loyalty of the nation. It was therefore an incident as fortunate for his persecutors as it proved fatal to himself, that he should thus timidly rush into the snare.

Cromwell being now freed from all anxiety in regard to the custody of the king's person, and entirely master of the parliament, employed himself seriously to cure the disorders of the army. That arrogant spirit, which he himself had so artfully fostered among the inferior officers and private men, in order to prepare them for a rebellion against their masters, and which he had so successfully employed against both king and parliament, was become dangerous to their leaders. The camp, in many respects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military subordination. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic: and all hostile opposition being at an end, nothing was now talked of

²⁶. All the historians of that age, except Clarendon, whose authority is chiefly followed in this narration, represent the king's departure for the Isle of Wight as altogether voluntary. He seems to have probability on his side, in ascribing that measure partly to necessity. *Hist.* vol. v.

by these armed legislators, but plans of imaginary commonwealths; in which royalty was to be abolished, nobility set aside, all ranks of men levelled, and an universal equality of property as well as of power introduced among the citizens. A perfect parity, they said, had place among the elect; and consequently the meanest centinel, if enlightened by the Holy Ghost, was entitled to equal regard with the highest commander ²⁷.

In order to mortify this spiritual pride, Cromwell issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the Agitators; and having nothing farther to fear from the parliament, he resolved to make that assembly the instrument of his future authority, and feigned the most perfect obedience to his commands. But the *Levellers*, as the fanatical party in the army were called, secretly continued their meetings; and at length began to affirm, that the military establishment, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation. Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions; separate rendezvous were concerted; and every thing tended to anarchy and confusion, when the bold genius of Cromwell applied a remedy adequate to the disease. At a general review of the forces, he ordered the ringleaders to be seized in the face of their companions. He held a council of war in the field; shot one mutineer, confined others, and by this well-timed rigour reduced the whole army to discipline and obedience ²⁸.

Cromwell's power was now too great to permit him to suffer an equal; although, the better to accomplish his ambitious purposes, he willingly allowed Fairfax to retain the name of commander in chief. But while the king lived, he was still in danger of, one day, finding a master. The destruction of Charles was, therefore, the great object that thenceforth engaged his thoughts. Insurrections, he was

27. C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

28. Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v.

sensible, would never be wanting, if not a general combination, in favour of a prince, who was so extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with an eye of affectionate compassion. But how to get rid of him, was a question not easy to answer. To murder him privately, beside the baseness of such a crime, would expose all concerned in it to the odious epithets of traitors and assassins, and rouse universal indignation. Some unexpected measure, he foresaw, must be adopted; which, coinciding with the fanatical notions of the entire equality of mankind, would bear the semblance of justice, insure the devoted obedience of the army, and astonish the world by its novelty: but what that should be, he could not yet fully determine.

In order to extricate himself from this difficulty, Cromwell had recourse to the counsels of Ireton; who having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, and the statesman on the saint, thought himself dissolved from the ordinary rules of morality, in the prosecution of his holy purposes. At his suggestion, Cromwell secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person. And in that, hypocritical conference, after many enthusiastic prayers, and fanatical effusions, was first opened the daring counsel of subjecting the king to a judicial sentence, and of rebel subjects bringing their sovereign to the block for his pretended tyranny and mal-administration²⁹.

This resolution being solemnly formed, it became necessary to concert such measures as would make the parliament adopt it; and to conduct them insensibly from violence to violence, till that last act of atrocious iniquity should seem essential to their own safety. The Levellers were prepared for such a proceeding, by frequent sermons from the following passage of Scripture, on which the fanatical preachers of

those times delighted to dwell : “ Let the high praises of the
 “ Lord be in the mouth of his saints, and a two-edged sword
 “ in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the Heathen,
 “ and punishment upon the people ; and bind their kings
 “ with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron ; to ex-
 “ ecute upon them the judgments written ! This honour
 “ hath all his saints.”

The conspirators accordingly, as a first step toward their bloody purpose, instigated the Independents in the house of commons, by whom its resolutions were now wholly governed, to frame four propositions, by way of preliminaries, which were sent to the king ; and to each of which they demanded his positive assent, before they would condescend to treat with him, though they knew that the whole would be rejected. These propositions were altogether exorbitant. Charles therefore demanded a personal treaty with the parliament ; and desired, That all the general terms, on both sides, should be adjusted, before particular concessions, on either side, should be insisted on. The republican party in parliament pretended to take fire at this answer, and openly inveighed against the person and government of the king ; while Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of *many thousands* of the *godly*, said that the king, having denied the four propositions, which were essential to the safety and protection of his people, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation, without any longer consulting so misguided a prince. Cromwell added, that it was expected the parliament would thenceforth rule and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not accustom the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened ³⁰. A D. 1648.
 In consequence of these arguments, it was voted, Jan. 15.
 That no more addresses be made to the king, nor any

30. C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

letters or messages received from him; and that it be accounted treason for any one, without leave of the two houses of parliament, to have any intercourse with him³¹.

By this vote the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. And the commons, in order to support so violent a measure, issued a declaration, in which the blackest calumnies were thrown upon the king; as if they had hoped, by blasting his fame, to prepare the nation for the violence intended against his person. By command of the army, he was shut up in close confinement; all his servants were removed, and all correspondence with his friends was cut off. In this state of dreary solitude, while he expected every moment to be poisoned or assassinated, he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Great Being, who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose chastisements, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of favour and affection³².

In the meantime, the army and parliament enjoyed not in tranquillity that power which they had usurped. The Scots, enraged at the depression of the presbyterian party, had protested against the four propositions, as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion; and the persons sent to London for this purpose, and who accompanied the English commissioners to the Isle of Wight, had secretly entered into engagements with Charles, for arming Scotland in its favour³³. Nor was England quiet under its new masters. The people, roused from their delirium, found themselves loaded with a variety of taxes, formerly unknown, and scarcely any appearance of law or liberty remaining in the administration of

31. Rushworth, vol. viii.

32. Hume, vol. vii. "Whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth" was indeed a text that Charles had much occasion to call to his assistance: and a firm belief in this consolatory doctrine supported him under all his sufferings, and made him triumph even in the hour of death.

33. Clarendon, vol. v. Burnet's *Memoirs of Hamilt.*

government. Every part of the kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, and conspiracies; and all orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and both king and parliament reduced to subjection by a mercenary army.

But although the whole English nation seemed to agree in declaring their detestation of military tyranny, the end which the several parties pursued were so different, that little concert was observed in their insurrections. A jealousy also prevailed between them and the Scots, who had marched a considerable army southward, under the marquis of Hamilton; and before the parliament, where the Presbyterians had again acquired the ascendant, could conclude a treaty, on which they had entered with the king, Cromwell and his associates, by their vigour and activity, had routed the Scots, and dispersed or subdued all the English insurgents. But the parliament, though deprived of all hopes of prevailing, had still the courage to resist. Denzil Hollis, the present leader of the Presbyterians, was a man of great intrepidity; and many others of the party seemed to inherit the same unconquerable spirit. It was magnanimously proposed by these bold senators that the generals and principal officers of the army should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament³⁴.

The generals, however, were not to be frightened by words. They marched the army to London; and placing guards in Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament with their forces. Yet the commons attempted, in the face of the army, to finish their treaty with the king; and, after a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of thirty-six, above an opposition of eighty-three, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the parliament to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom.

34. Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

This was the time for the generals to interpose: and they knew it. Next morning, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had, by order of his superiors, environed the house with a party of soldiers. He seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party: above an hundred and fifty more commoners were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the Independents, who did not exceed sixty in number. This remnant, ludicrously called the *Rump*, instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory³⁵.

The future proceedings of the Parliament, if a fanatical junto, entirely under the direction of the army, can deserve that honourable name, were worthy of the members that composed it. After having exercised their vengeance on all whom they feared, or who had been engaged in the late insurrections, they determined to close the scene with the public trial and execution of their sovereign. A committee of the house of commons was accordingly appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed, declaring it *High Treason* in a King to *levy war* against his *Parliament*, and appointing an *High Court of Justice* to try CHARLES STUART for that crime. This vote was sent up to the house of peers, and rejected without one dissenting voice, contemptible as were the few peers that now attended! But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established the principle, that "the people are the origin of all just power;" a maxim noble in itself, but which, as in the the present case, may be perverted to the worst of purposes, they next declared, "That the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, have the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons, hath the

35. Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

“ force of law, without the consent of the king or house
 “ of peers ³⁶.” This matter being settled, the A. D. 1649.
 ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of Jan. 4.
 England, was again read, and unanimously agreed to.

“ Should any one have voluntarily proposed,” said Crom-
 well, “ to bring the king to punishment, I should have re-
 “ garded him as the greatest traitor; but since Providence
 “ and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God
 “ for a blessing on your counsels, though I am not pre-
 “ pared to give you any advice on this important occa-
 “ sion. Even I myself,” added he, “ when I was lately
 “ offering up petitions for his majesty’s restoration, felt
 “ my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and consider-
 “ ed this supernatural movement as the answer which
 “ Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my sup-
 “ plications ³⁷!”

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most fu-
 rious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to
 conduct the king to London. All the exterior symbols of
 sovereignty were now withdrawn, and Charles was sensible,
 that a period would, in a short time, be put to his life; yet
 could he not persuade himself, after all the steps that had
 been taken, that his enemies really meant to conclude their
 violences by a public trial and execution. The form of the
 trial, however, was soon regulated, and the high court of
 justice, or rather of iniquity, fully constituted. It sat Jan. 16.
 in Westminster-hall, and consisted of near an hun-
 dred and fifty persons, as named by the commons; though
 scarce seventy ever attended, and few of these were men of
 either birth or character. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and
 other officers of the army; some members of the lower
 house, and some citizens of London, were the awful judges
 appointed to try their sovereign. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was
 chosen president; Coke, another lawyer, was appointed so-

³⁶. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii.

³⁷. *Id. ibid.*

llitor for the people of England, and Dorilaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants.

Though the king had long been detained a prisoner, and was now produced as a criminal, he still remembered what he owed to himself before such an inferior tribunal, and sustained with composure and magnanimity the majesty of the throne. Being conducted to a chair, placed within the bar, he took his seat with his hat on, and surveyed his judges with an air of dignified disdain. The solicitor represented, in the name of the commons, That Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entrusted with a limited power, had nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. When the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer. Charles, with great temper and firmness, declined the authority of the court. Having been engaged in a treaty with the two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected, he said, before this time, to be brought to his capital in another manner, and to have been restored to his power, dignity, and revenue, as well as to his personal liberty; that he could now perceive no appearance of the upper house, so essential a part of the constitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pleaded, were subdued by lawless force; that the whole authority of the state, though free and united, was not entitled to try him, their hereditary king; that he acknowledged he had a trust committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable: he was entrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation; that having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence

of public liberty, of the constitution, and of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights, for which, though unsuccessfully, he had struggled so long³⁸. The president still contended, that the king must not decline the authority of his judges; that they over-ruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of all lawful power; and that kings themselves act only in trust from that community, which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth sitting, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, That the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him; adjudging, that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by the severing of his head from his body. Firm and intrepid in all his appearances before his judges, the unfortunate monarch never forgot himself either as a prince or as a man: nor did he discover any emotion at this extraordinary sentence; but seemed to look down, with a mixture of pity and contempt, on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity³⁹. Three days were allowed him between his sentence and execution. These he passed in great tranquillity, occupied himself chiefly in reading and devotion, and every night slept as sound as usual; though the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and making other preparations for his exit, continually resounded in his ears⁴⁰.

Charles, however, though thus oppressed by a rebellious faction, was not suffered to die without the tear of com-

³⁸. *State Trials*, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. Ludlow, vol. i.

³⁹. *Id. ibid.*

⁴⁰. C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

passion, or the interposition of friendly powers. The people who, in their misguided fury, had before so violently rejected him, now avowed him for their monarch, by their generous sorrow; nor could they forbear pouring forth their prayers for his preservation, notwithstanding the rod of tyranny that hung over them. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed, and protested against the intended violence, which insultingly pretended to conceal itself under the semblance of law and justice; and the queen and the prince of Wales wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. But all their solicitations were in vain. Nothing could alter the resolutions of men, whose ambitious projects required the blood of their sovereign as a seal.

On the morning of the fatal day, the king rose early, and continued his devotions till noon, assisted by bishop
Jan. 30. Juxon; a man whose mild and steady virtues very much resembled those of his sovereign. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution; it being intended, by chusing that place, to display more fully the triumph of popular justice over tyrannical power. And Charles, having drank a glass of wine, and ate a bit of bread, walked through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold, which was covered with black cloth. In the middle of it appeared the block and axe, with two executioners in masks. Several troops of horse and companies of foot were placed around it; and a vast number of spectators waited, in silent horror, at a greater distance. The king eyed all these solemn preparations with great composure; and finding that he could not expect to be heard by the people, he addressed himself to the few about his person, but particularly to colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had been lately committed, and on whom he had wrought an entire conversion. He vindicated himself from the accusation of having commenced war against his parliament. But,
although

although innocent toward his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eye of Heaven; and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect upon the earl of Strafford, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself⁴¹. He declared, that he forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return

41. I have formerly taken occasion to observe, That Charles ought not to have given his assent to the bill of attainder against Strafford, unless he thought his minister had exceeded his instructions. This solemn expression of remorse, proves that the king believed him guiltless. And Strafford's vindication of himself from the *accusation of rigour*, in a letter to his intimate friend sir Christopher Wandesworth, fully justifies the character I have given of him, explains the motives of his conduct, and evinces the necessity of strong measures, as well as their conformity to the will of his master. "I have been represented," says he, "rather as a bashaw of Buda, than the minister of a pious and Christian king. Howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in myself, it was quite the contrary. No man could shew wherein I had expressed it in my nature; no friend would charge me with it in my private conversation; no creature had found it in the management of my domestic affairs; so if I stood so clear in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any *equal mind*, that it was not any thing *within*, but the *necessity of his majesty's service*, which enforced me into a seeming strictness *outwardly*. And that was the reason indeed; for where I found a crown, a church, and a people *spoiled*, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks. Where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was, by soft and moderate counsels; but where a *sovereignty* (be it spoken with reverence) was *going down the hill*, the nature of men did so easily *slide* into the *paths of uncontrouled liberty*, as it would not be brought back without strength, nor be forced up the hill again but by *vigour*. And true it was, I knew no other rule to govern by, but by reward and punishment. If this be *sharpness*, if this be *severity*, I desire to be better *instructed* by his majesty and their lordships," (this letter being the substance of a speech in the privy council) "for in truth it did not seem so to me. However, if I were once told that his majesty liked not to be thus served, I would readily *confirm myself*; follow the bent and current of my own disposition, which is to be *quiet*. Here his majesty interrupted me, and said, that was no severity: if I served him otherwise, I should not serve him as he expected from me." Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches*, vol. ii.

to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor⁴².

These exhortations being finished, the king prepared himself for the block; bishop Juxon in the meantime warning him, that there was but one stage more between him and heaven, and that though troublesome, it was short. "I go," said Charles, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can arise."—"You are exchanged," replied the bishop, "from a temporal to an eternal crown: a good exchange!" One of the executioners, at a single blow, severed the king's head from his body; and the other holding it up, streaming with blood, cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor⁴³!" Grief, terror, and indignation, took at once hold of the hearts of the astonished spectators; each of whom seemed to accuse himself either of active disloyalty to his murdered sovereign, or with too indolent a defence of his oppressed cause, and to regard himself as an accomplice in this horrid transaction, which had fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation, and must expose it to the vengeance of an offended Deity. The same sentiments spread themselves throughout the whole kingdom. The people were every where overwhelmed with sorrow and confusion, as soon as informed of the fatal catastrophe of the king, and filled with unrelenting hatred against the authors of his death. His sufferings, his magnanimity,

42. *State Trials*, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. viii. Whitlocke, p. 375. Burnet, vol. i. Hebert's *Mem.* p. 117—127.

43. *Id. ibid.* It being remarked that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had emphatically pronounced the word REMEMBER! great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals insisted that Juxon should inform them of its latent meaning. The bishop told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence toward his greatest enemies. Hume, vol. vii.

his patience, his piety, and his Christian deportment, made all his errors be forgot; and nothing was now to be heard, but lamentations and self-reproaches⁴⁴.

Charles I. was of a middling stature, strong, and well proportioned. His features were regular, and his aspect sweet but melancholy. He excelled in horsemanship and other manly exercises. His judgment was sound, his taste elegant, and his general temper moderate. He was a sincere admirer of the fine arts, and a liberal encourager of those who pursued them. As a man, his character was unexceptionable, and even highly exemplary; in a word, we may say with lord Clarendon, that "he was the worthiest gentleman,

44. This disposition of mind was much heightened by the appearance of the *Icon Basilicæ*; a work published in the king's name a few days after his execution, and continuing beside his prayers in the exercise of his private devotions, meditations or self conversations, in which the most blameable measures of his government are vindicated or palliated. A performance so full of piety, meekness, and humanity, believed to be written by the Royal Martyr, as he was called by the friends of the church and monarchy, and published at so critical a time, had wonderful effects upon the nation. It passed rapidly through many editions; and, independent of all prejudice or partiality, it must be allowed to be a work of merit, especially in regard to style and composition. But whether it be really the production of Charles, or of Dr. Gauden, is a matter not yet settled among the learned: though the internal proofs, it is owned, are strongly in favour of the advocates for this unfortunate prince, whose style was, on all occasions, as remarkable for its purity, neatness, and simplicity, the characteristics of the Icon, as Dr. Gauden's for the opposite faults. Along with that performance were published several others, and particularly a poem, which has been much admired, entitled *Majesty in Mourning*, said to have been written by the king during his confinement in Carisbrook castle, in the year 1648. The two first stanzas of this poem are sufficiently remarkable to merit the attention of the historian, as they contain a vindication of Charles's veracity, by way of appeal to an awful Judge, whom he could not hope to deceive.

"Great Monarch of the World, from whose power springs

"The potency and power of kings,

"Record the royal woe, my suffering fangs;

"And teach my tongue, that ever did confine

"Its faculties in Truth's seraphic line,

"To track the Treasons of thy Foes and mine."

"the

“ the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian in his dominions.” But he had the misfortune, as a king, to be educated in high notions of the royal prerogative, which he thought it his duty to support, at a time when his people were little inclined to respect such rights⁴⁵; and to be superstitiously devoted to the religion of his country, when the violence of fanaticism was ready to overturn both the church and monarchy. In the convulsion occasioned by these opposite humours and pretensions, he fell beneath the fury of an ambitious faction, a martyr to his principles and the English constitution. Had he acceded more early to the reasonable demands of the commons, he might perhaps have avoided his fate. Yet their furious encroachments on the prerogative, after those demands had been granted, leave it doubtful, whether they would, at any time, have been satisfied with equitable concessions, or whether it was possible for Charles, by any line of conduct, to have averted the evils that overtook him, unless he had possessed vigour and capacity enough to have crushed the rising spirit of liberty; an event which must have proved no less dangerous to the constitution than the victory of the parliament. It is certain, however, that he was too

45. The king's sentiments, in regard to government, seem to have been sufficiently moderate before his death. “ Give *belief* to my *experience*,” says he, in a letter to the prince of Wales, “ never to *quest* more *greatness* or *prerogative* than what is really and intrinsically for the *good* of your *subjects*, not the *satisfaction* of *favourites*. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive, that all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams, which the rivers entrust with him, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make him up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince, as your father is a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken: for our subjects have learned, I dare say, that *victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves*; and so will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter.” This letter was written soon after the last negotiation with the parliament in the Isle of Wight, in 1648.

easy in yielding to the opinion of others, and too apt to listen to violent counsels. His abilities, like those of his father, shone more in reasoning than in action; and his virtues, as well as his talents, were better suited to private than to public life. As he wanted firmness, in his regal capacity, he is also reproached with want of sincerity; and to these two defects in his character, but more especially to a strong imputation to the latter, from which he cannot be altogether vindicated, have been ascribed, by the zealous friends of freedom, the utter ruin of the royal cause, the triumph of the military despots over the parliament, and the death of Charles. The great body of the commons were surely not enemies to monarchy; but having no confidence in the king, they thought they could never sufficiently fetter him with limitations. Hence their rigour, and the rise of the civil war. The subsequent events were not within their controul.

The death of the king was soon followed by the dissolution of the monarchy. The commons, after having declared it high-treason to proclaim, or otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called *Prince of Wales*, as sovereign of England, passed an act abolishing kingly power, as *useless, burthensome, and dangerous*. They also abolished the house of peers, as *useless and dangerous*; and ordered a new great-seal to be made, on one side of which was engraved the date, and on the other they themselves were represented as assembled in parliament, with this inscription: "IN THE FIRST
"YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSINGS RESTOR-
"ED 46." It was committed in charge to a certain number of persons, denominated *The Conservators of the Liberties of England*; in whose name all public business was transacted, under the direction of the house of commons. The king's statue in the Exchange was thrown down; and, on the pedestal, the following words were inscribed:—*Exit Tyrann-*

mus, *Regum ultimus*; "The Tyrant, the last of the Kings, "is gone"⁴⁷."

We must now, my dear Philip, turn aside to contemplate the affairs on the continent, and take a view of those events that introduced the reign of Lewis XIV. before we carry farther the transactions of England.

47. C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. Clarendon, vol. v.

L E T T E R VIII.

A general View of the EUROPEAN Continent, from the Peace of WESTPHALIA, in 1648, to the PYRENEAN Treaty, in 1659, and the Peace of OLIVA, in 1660.

THOUGH the peace of Westphalia restored tranquillity to Germany and the North of Europe, war was continued between France and Spain, as I have formerly had occasion to observeⁱ, and soon broke out among the northern powers. France was, at the same time, distracted by civil broils, though less fatal than those of England.

These broils were fomented by the coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterward the famous cardinal de Retz, so well known by his interesting *Memoirs*, which unfold minutely the latent springs of the intrigues of state, and the principles by which they are governed. This extraordinary man united to the most profligate manners a profound genius and a factious spirit. Conscious of his superior abilities, and jealous of the greatness of Mazarine, whose place of prime minister he thought himself better qualified to fill, he infused the same jealousies into the nobility and the princes of the blood;

while he roused the people to sedition, by representing, in the strongest colours, the ignominy of submitting to the oppressive administration of a stranger. Yet that minister had highly contributed to the grandeur of the French monarchy, by the important possessions obtained, and secured by the treaty of Munster; nor were the taxes complained of, more weighty than the necessities of the state required, or half so burthensome as those which the civil war soon brought upon the kingdom, besides its destructive rage, and the advantage it gave to the Spanish arms.

But although the coadjutor seems to have had nothing less at heart than the good of his country, such a pretence was necessary to cover his ambitious projects; and in order still farther to give a sanction to his pretended reformation, he artfully drew the parliament of Paris into his views. Inflamed with the love of power, and stimulated by the insinuations of an intriguing prelate, the parliament boldly set its authority in opposition to that of the court, even before any of the princes of the blood had declared themselves. This was a very extraordinary step; for the parliament of Paris, though a respectable body, was now no more than the first college of justice in the kingdom, the ancient parliaments, or national assemblies having been long since abolished. But the people, deceived by the name, and allured by the successful usurpations of the English parliament, considered the parliament of Paris as the *Parent of the State*²: and under its sanction, and that of the archbishop, they thought every violence justifiable against the court; or, as was pretended, against the minister.

Lewis XIV. was yet in his minority, and had discovered no symptoms of that ambitious spirit which afterward spread terror over Europe. Anne of Austria, the queen-regent, reposed her whole confidence in cardinal Mazarine; and Mazarine had hitherto governed the kingdom with prudence and moderation. Incensed, however, to see a body of

lawyers, who had purchased their places, set themselves in opposition to that authority by which they were constituted, he ordered the president and one of the most factious counsellors to be arrested, and sent to prison. The populace rose; barricadoed the streets; threatened the cardinal and the queen-regent; and continued their outrages, till the prisoners were set at liberty ³.

Thus encouraged by the support of the people, the parliament and the archbishop proceeded in their cabals. The queen-regent could not appear in public without being insulted. She was continually reproached with sacrificing the nation to her friendship for Mazarine, and ballads and madrigals were sung in every street, in order to confirm the suspicions entertained of her virtue, or rather to circulate the tale of her amours. In consequence of these disagreeable circumstances, and apprehensions of yet greater evils, the queen-regent left Paris, accompanied by her children and her minister, and retired to St. Germain. Here, if we may credit Voltaire, the distress of the royal family

A. D. 1649.

was so great, that they were obliged to pawn the crown jewels, in order to raise money; that the king himself was often in want of common necessaries; and that they were forced to dismiss the pages of his chamber, because they could not afford them a maintenance ⁴.

In the meantime the parliament, by solemn arrest, declared cardinal Mazarine a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom. This was the signal of hostility and revolt. A separation of parties now took place; and the prince of Conti, the duke of Longueville, the duke of Beaufort, the duke of Bouillon, and their adherents, instigated by the factious spirit of the coadjutor, and flattered with the hopes of making the wild proceedings of the parliament subservient to their ambitious views, came and offered their services to that body. Seduced by the example of Paris, other cities, other parliaments, and even provinces

³. *Mem. de Gui Joli*, tom. i.

⁴. *Siecle*, chap. iii.

revolted: the whole kingdom was a scene of anarchy and confusion. But the conduct of the insurgents was every where ludicrous and absurd. Having no distinct aim, they had neither concert nor courage to execute any enterprize of importance; but wasted their time in vain parade, until the great Condé, who, though dissatisfied with the court, had engaged in the royal cause at the earnest entreaties of the queen-regent, threw the capital into an alarm, and dispersed the undisciplined troops of the parliament, with no more than six thousand men. A conference was agreed to, and a treaty concluded at Rouel; by which a general amnesty was granted, and a temporary quiet procured, but without any extinction of hatred on either side ⁵.

While the parties remained in such a temper, no solid peace could be expected. The court, however, returned to Paris, and the cardinal was received by the people with expressions of joy and satisfaction. It is this levity of the French nation, the absurd mixture of a frivolous gallantry with the intrigues of state, with plots and conspiracies, and the influence that the duchess of Longueville, and other libertine women had, in making the most eminent leaders several times change sides, that has made these contemptible wars to be considered with so much attention by philosophical writers.

A fresh instance of that levity was soon displayed. The prince of Condé, always the prey of a restless ambition, presuming on his great services, and setting no bounds to his pretensions, repeatedly insulted the queen and the cardinal. He also, by his haughtiness, disgusted the coadjutor, and entered into cabals against the court with other factious leaders. By the advice of this intriguing prelate, Condé was arrested at the council table, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, the very

A. D. 1650.

5. *Mem. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. iii. *Mem. de Gui Joli*, tom. i. *Mém. de Card. de Retz*, tom. i.

heads of the malcontents; and the citizens of Paris, with bonfires and public rejoicings, celebrated the imprisonment of those turbulent spirits, whom they had lately adored as their deliverers ⁶.

But the triumph of the minister was of short duration. The imprisonment of the princes roused their partisans to arms in every corner of the kingdom; and the duke of Orleans, the young king's uncle, whom the cardinal had slighted, became the head of the malcontents. Mazarine, after setting the princes at liberty, in hopes of conciliating their favour, was obliged to fly first to Liege, and then to Cologne; where he continued to govern the queen-regent, as if he had never quitted the court. By their intrigues, assisted by the coadjutor, who, though he had been deeply concerned in these new disturbances, was again dissatisfied with his party, the duke of Bouillon and his brother Turenne were detached from the malcontents. *A. D. 1651.* Mazarine re entered the kingdom, escorted by six thousand men. Condé once more flew to arms; and the parliament declared him guilty of high-treason, nearly at the same time that it set a price upon the head of the cardinal, against whom only he had taken the field ⁷!

The great, but inconsistent Condé, in this extremity of his fortune, threw himself upon the protection of Spain; and, after pursuing the cardinal and the court *A. D. 1652.* from province to province, he entered Paris with a body of Spanish troops. The people were filled with admiration of his valour, and the parliament was struck with awe. In the meantime Turenne, who, by his masterly retreats, had often saved the king when his escape seemed impracticable, now conducted him within sight of his capital; and Lewis, from the eminence of Charonne, beheld the famous battle of St. Antoine, near the suburb of

⁶ *Mem. de Card. de Retz*, tom. ii. *Mem. du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii.

⁷ Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* chap. iv.

that name, where the two greatest generals in France performed wonders at the head of a few men. The duke of Orleans, being doubtful what conduct to pursue, remained in his palace, as did the coadjutor-archbishop, now cardinal de Retz. The parliament waited the event of the battle, before it published any decree. The people, equally afraid of the troops of both parties, had shut the city gates, and would suffer nobody either to go in or out. The combat long remained suspended, and many gallant noblemen were killed or wounded. At last it was decided in favour of the prince of Condé, by a very singular exertion of female intrepidity. The daughter of the duke of Orleans, more resolute than her father, had the boldness to order the cannon of the Bastile to be fired upon the king's troops, and Turenne was obliged to retire⁸. "These cannon have killed her husband!" said Mazarine, when informed of that circumstance, knowing how ambitious she was of being married to a crowned head, and that she hoped to be queen of France⁹.

Encouraged by this success, the parliament declared the duke of Orleans *Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom*; an incomprehensible title that had formerly been bestowed on the duke of Mayenne, during the time of the League: and the prince of Condé was styled *Commander in Chief of the Armies of France*. These new dignities, however, were of short duration. A popular tumult, in which several citizens were killed, and of which the prince of Condé was supposed to be the author, obliged him to quit Paris, where he found his credit fast declining; and the king, in order to appease his subjects, being now of age, dismissed Mazarine, who retired to Sedan.

That measure had the desired effect. The people every where returned to their allegiance; and Lewis entered his capital, amid the acclamations of persons of all ranks. The

8. *Mem. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. v. *Mem de Gui Joli*, tom. ii.

9. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. iv.

duke of Orleans was banished the court, and cardinal de Retz committed to prison. Condé, being condemned to lose his head, continued his unhappy engagements with Spain. The parliament was humbled, and Mazarine recalled¹⁰; when, finding his power more firmly established than ever, the subtle Italian, in the exultation of his heart at the universal homage that was paid him, looked down with an eye of contempt on the levity of the French nation, and determined to make them feel the pressure of his administration, of which they had formerly complained without reason.

During these ludicrous, but pernicious wars, which for several years distracted France, the Spaniards, though feeble, were not altogether inactive. They had recovered Barcelona, after a tedious siege; they had taken Casal from the duke of Savoy, and attached the duke of Mantua to their interest, by restoring that place to him: they had reduced Gravelines, and again made themselves masters of Dunkirk. But Lewis XIV. being now in full possession of his kingdom, and Turenne opposed to Condé, the face of affairs was soon changed; in spite of the utmost efforts of Don Lewis de Haro, nephew to the late minister Olivared, who governed Spain and Philip IV. with as absolute an ascendant as Mazarine did France and her young king.

The first event that gave a turn to the war was the relief of Arras. The siege of this city was undertaken by the prince of Condé, the archduke Leopold, and the count de Fuenfaldagna, and pressed with great vigour. The marshals Turenne and de la Ferté, who had formed the siege of Stenay, a place strong and well defended, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, and tried every method to oblige them to abandon their enterprize, but without effect. At length Stenay surrendered, and another division of the French army, under the marshal de Hoquincourt,

10. Voltaire, ubi sup.

joined Turenne; who, contrary to the opinion of his principal officers, resolved to force the Spanish lines. This he performed with great success, and made himself master of the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy¹¹. Condé, however, gained no less honour than his rival. After defeating the marshal de Hoquincourt, and repulsing de la Ferté, he retreated gloriously himself, by covering the flight of the vanquished Spaniards, and saving the shattered remains of their army. "I am informed," said Philip IV. in his letter of acknowledgment to the prince, "that every thing was lost, and that you have recovered every thing¹²."

A. D. 1656.

This success, which Mazarine vainly ascribed to himself, because he and the king were, at the time, within a few leagues of Arras, was nearly balanced by the relief of Valenciennes; where fortune shifted sides, and taught Condé, his victorious competitor, to seek, in his turn, the honours of war in a retreat. The siege of that place had been undertaken by Turenne and de la Ferté, with an army of twenty thousand men. The lines were completed, and the operations in great forwardness, when the prince of Condé and Don John of Austria, bastard son of Philip IV. advanced toward with an equal, if not superior army, and forced, in the night, the lines of the quarter where the marshal de la Ferté commanded. Turenne flew to his assistance, but all his valour and conduct were not sufficient to restore the battle. He carried off his artillery and baggage, however, unmolested; and even halted, on the approach of the enemy, as if he had been desirous to renew the combat. Astonished at his cool intrepidity, the Spaniards did not dare to attack him. He continued his march; and took Capelle, in sight of Don John and the Prince of Condé¹³. It was this talent

11. *Hist. de Vicomte de Turenne*, tom. iv.

12. Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* tom. i. c. 5.

13. *La Vie de Turenne*, p. 296. Hainault, *Géog. Hist. de France*, tom. ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, tom. i. c. 5.

of at once inspiring confidence into his troops, and intimidating his enemies, by the boldness of his enterprizes, that made Turenne superior to any general of his age. Conscious that his force would be estimated by the magnitude of his undertakings, after he had acquired the reputation of prudence, he conquered no less by his knowledge of human nature than of the art of war; and he had the singular good fortune to escape the most eminent dangers, by seeming to be above them.

Thus for a time, the balance was held almost even between France and Spain, by the address of two able ministers, and the operations of two great generals. But when the crafty Mazarine, by sacrificing to the pride of Cromwell, drew England to the assistance of France, Spain was no longer able to maintain the contest. Dunkirk,

A. D. 1658. the most important fortress in Flanders, was the first object of their united efforts. Twenty English ships blocked up the harbour, while a French army, under Turenne, and six thousand English veterans, besieged the town by land. The prince of Condé and Don John came to its relief: Turenne led out his army to give them battle: and by the obstinate valour of the English, and the impetuosity of the French troops, the Spaniards were totally defeated near the Downs, in spite of the most vigorous exertions of the great Condé. Dunkirk surrendered ten days after, and was delivered to the English according to treaty. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Menin, Ypres, and Graveline, also submitted to the arms of France¹⁴: and Spain saw the necessity of suing for peace.

One great object of Mazarine's policy was, to obtain for the house of Bourbon the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy. With this view he had formerly proffered peace to Philip IV. by proposing a marriage between the infanta, Maria Theresa, and Lewis XIV. But as the king of Spain

had, at that time, only one son, whose unhealthy infancy rendered his life precarious, the proposal was rejected; lest the infanta, who might probably become heiress to the Spanish dominions, should carry her right into the house of an enemy. That obstacle, however, was now removed. The king of Spain had got another son, by a second wife, and the queen was again with child. It was therefore agreed, that the infanta should be given to Lewis XIV. in order to procure peace to the exhausted monarchy; and, the better to settle the preliminaries of a treaty, cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro met on the A. D. 1659. frontiers of both kingdoms, in the isle of Pheasants in the Pyrennees. There, after many conferences and much ceremony, all things were adjusted, by the two ministers, to the satisfaction of both parties. Philip agreed to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and Lewis to receive Nov. 7. Condé into favour: Spain renounced all pretensions to Alsace; and the long disputed succession of Juliers was granted to the duke of Neuburg¹⁵.

In little more than a year after signing the Pyrenean treaty, died cardinal Mazarine, and left the reins A. D. 1661. of government to Lewis XIV. who had become March 9. impatient of a yoke which he was afraid to shake off. Historians have seldom done justice to the character of this accomplished statesman, whose political caution restrained the vigour of his spirit, and the lustre of whose genius was concealed beneath his profound dissimulation. If his schemes were less comprehensive, or his enterprizes less bold than those of Richelieu, they were less extravagant¹⁶. He has
been

¹⁵. Voltaire, *ubi sup.* P. Daniel, tom 7.

¹⁶. Voltaire has placed the talents of these two ministers in a just point of view, by applying them to the same object, along with a less worthy associate, in order to make the illustration more perfect. "If, for example," says he, "the subjection of Rochelle had been undertaken by such a genius as Caesar Borgia, he would, under the sanction of the most sacred oaths, have drawn the principal inhabitants into his camp, and there have put

been accused of avarice, and seemingly with justice; yet if we reflect that, being an indigent foreigner himself, he married seven nieces to French noblemen of the first distinction, and left his nephew duke of Nevers, we shall perhaps be inclined partly to forgive him. So many matches could not be formed without money:—and the pride of raising one's family is no contemptible passion. He had the singular honour of extending the limits of the French monarchy, while France was distracted by intestine hostilities; and of twice restoring peace to the greater part of Europe, after the longest and most bloody wars it had ever known. Nor must we forget his attention to the Spanish succession, which has since made the house of Bourbon so formidable to its neighbours, and is a striking proof of his political foresight. His leading maxim was, That force ought never to be employed but in default of other means; and his perfect knowledge of mankind, the most essential of all mental acquisitions for a minister, enabled him often to accomplish his views without it. When absolutely necessary, we have seen him employ it with effect.

The affairs of Germany and the northern crowns now claim our attention.

That tranquillity which the peace of Westphalia had restored to Germany, continued unmolested till the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657, when an interregnum of five months ensued, and the diet was violently agitated in regard to the choice of a successor. At last, however, his son Leopold was raised to the imperial throne; for although jealousies prevailed among some of the electors, on account of the am-

“them to death. Mazarine would have got possession of the place two or
 “three years later, by corrupting the magistrates, and sowing discord among
 “the citizens. Cardinal Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander the Great, laid
 “a boom across the harbour, and entered Rochelle as a conqueror; but had
 “the English a little more turbulent, or the English a little more diligent,
 “Rochelle might have been saved, and Richelieu called a rash and inconfi-
 “derate projector.” *Siecle*, tom. i. c. v.

bition

bition of the house of Austria, the greater number were convinced of the propriety of such a choice, in order to prevent more alarming dangers. While the Turks remained masters of Buda, the French in possession of Alsace, and the Swedes of Pomerania, a powerful emperor seemed necessary ¹⁷.

The first measure of Leopold's reign was the finishing of an alliance, which his father had begun, with Poland and Denmark, in opposition to Sweden. But we shall have occasion to notice the events to which this alliance gave birth, in tracing the history of the northern kingdoms.

Sweden had been raised to the highest pitch of military reputation by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, who was considered as the champion of the protestant cause; but who gratified his own ambition and love of glory, at the same time that he protected the liberties of Germany, which his immature death only perhaps prevented him from overturning. And his daughter Christina, no less ambitious of fame, though neither in the camp nor cabinet, immortalized her short reign, by declaring herself the patroness of learning and the polite arts. She drew to her court Grotius, Vossius, Des Cartes, and other eminent men, whom she liberally rewarded. But her studies, in general, were too antiquated and abstract, to give lustre to her character as a woman; and by occupying too much of her attention, they were injurious to her reputation as a queen. She acceded to the peace of Westphalia, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, from a desire of indulging her passion for study, rather than out of any regard to the happiness of Sweden or the repose of Europe. That peace lightened the cares of government; but they were still too weighty for Christina. "I think I see the Devil!" said she, "when my secretary enters with his dispatches ¹⁸."

In order to enable the queen to pursue her literary amuse-

¹⁷. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

¹⁸. *Mem. de Christine.*

ments, without disadvantage to the state, the senate of Sweden proposed, that she should marry her cousin, Charles Gustavus, prince Palatine of Deux Ponts, for whom she had been designed from her infancy. But although this prince appears to have been a favourite, and Christina's conduct proves that she was by no means insensible to the passion of the sexes, like our Elizabeth, she did not chuse to give herself a master. She prevailed, however, with the

A. D. 1650.

States to declare Charles Gustavus her successor; a measure by which she kept herself at liberty, secured the tranquillity of Sweden, and repressed the ambition of some great families, who might, in case of her death, otherwise have offered pretensions to the crown.

But the Swedes, among whom refinement had made little progress, but whose martial spirit was now at its height, and among whom policy was well understood, could not bear to see the daughter of the great Gustavus devote her time and her talents solely to the study of dead languages; to the disputes about vortexes, innate ideas, and other unavailing speculations; to a taste for medals, statues, pictures and public spectacles, in contempt of the nobler cares of roylaty. And they were yet more displeased to find the resources of the kingdom exhausted, in what they considered as inglorious pursuits, and childish amusements. An universal discontent arose, and Christina was again pressed to marry. The disgust occasioned by this importunity first suggested to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly signified her intention of resigning, in a letter to Charles Gustavus, and of surrendering her crown in full-senate.

But Charles, trained in dissimulation, and fearing the queen had laid a snare for him, rejected her proposal, and prayed that God and Sweden might long preserve her majesty. Perhaps he flattered himself, that the senate would accept her resignation, and appoint him to the government, in recompence for his modesty; but he was deceived, if these were his expectations. The senate and the chief officers of

state,

state, headed by the chancellor Oxenstiern, waited upon the queen. And whether Christina had a mind to alarm her discontented subjects, and establish herself more firmly on the throne, by pretending to desert it. or whatever else might be her motive for resigning; in a word, whether having renounced the crown out of vanity, which dictated most of her actions, she was disposed to resume it out of caprice; she submitted, or pretended to submit, to the importunity of her subjects and successor, and consented to reign, on condition that she should be no more pressed to marry ¹⁹.

Finding it impossible, however, to reconcile her literary pursuits, or more properly her love of ease and her romantic turn of mind, with the duties of her station, Christina finally resigned her crown in 1654; and Charles Gustavus ascended the throne of Sweden, under the A. D. 1654. name of Charles X. After despoiling the palace of every thing curious or valuable, she left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbarism. She travelled through Germany in men's cloaths; and having a design of fixing her residence at Rome, that she might have an opportunity of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, she embraced the Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly renounced Lutheranism at Inspruck ²⁰. The Catholics considered this conversion as a great triumph, and the Protestants were not a little mortified at the defection of so celebrated a woman; but both without reason; for the queen of Sweden, who had an equal contempt for the peculiarities of the two religions, meant only to conform, in appearance, to the tenets of the people among whom she intended to live, in order to enjoy more agreeably the pleasures of social intercourse. Of this her letters afford sufficient evidence, to silence the caviliers of either party.

But Christina, like most sovereigns who have quitted a throne, in order to escape from the cares of royalty, found

¹⁹ Puffend. lib. vi. Arckenholtz, tom. i.

²⁰ *Mém. de Christine.*

herself no less uneasy in private life: so true it is, that happiness depends on the mind, not on the condition! She soon discovered, that a queen without power was a very insignificant character in Italy, and is supposed to have repented of her resignation. But, however that may be, it is certain she became tired of her situation, and made two journeys into France; where she was received with much respect by the learned, whom she had pensioned and flattered, but with little attention by the polite, especially of her own sex. Her masculine air and libertine conversation kept women of delicacy at a distance. Nor does she seem to have desired their

acquaintance; for when, on her first appearance, A. D. 1656. some ladies were eager to pay their civilities to her, "What," said she, "make these women so fond of me? Is it because I am so like a man?" The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, whose wit and beauty gave her the power of pleasing to the most advanced age, and who was no less distinguished by the multiplicity of her amours than the singularity of her manner of thinking, was the only woman in France whom Christina honoured with any particular mark of her esteem²¹. She loved the free conversation of men; or of women, who, like herself, were above vulgar restraints.

The modest women in France, however, repaid Christina's contempt with ridicule. And happy had it been for her character, had she never excited, in the mind of either sex, a more disagreeable emotion; but that was soon succeeded by those of detestation and horror. As if not only sovereignty but despotism had been attached to her person, in a fit of libidinous jealousy, she ordered Monaldeschi, her favourite, to be assassinated in the great gallery of Fontainebleau, and almost in her own presence²². Yet the woman, who thus terminated an amour by a murder, did not want her apologists among the learned: and this atroci-

²¹ Ibid.

²² D'Alembert, *Mém. de Christ.*

ous violation of the law of nature and nations, in an enlightened age, and in the heart of a civilized kingdom, was allowed to pass, not only without punishment, but without enquiry!

Christina found it necessary, however, to leave France, where she was now justly held in abhorrence. She therefore returned to Rome; where, under the wing of the vicar of Christ, the greatest criminals find shelter and consolation; and where the queen of Sweden, a dupe to vanity and caprice, spent the remainder of her life, in sensual indulgencies and literary conversations, with cardinal Azzolini, and other members of the sacred college; in admiring many things for which she had no taste, and in talking about more which she did not understand.

While Christina was thus rambling over Europe, and amusing herself in a manner as unworthy of her former character as of the daughter of the great Gustavus, her successor, Charles X. was indulging the martial spirit of the Swedes, by the conquest of Poland. This he accomplished, after several signal victories, in which he discovered both courage and conduct. Warsaw, the capital, was obliged to surrender; and Casimir, the Polish king, took refuge in Silesia. But that conquest was of small advantage to Sweden. The Poles revolted, in violation of the most solemn oaths and engagements; and the Russians, the Danes, the elector of Brandenburg, and the emperor Leopold, assisted them in expelling their invaders²³.

But the king of Sweden, though assailed by so many enemies, was not discouraged. Depending on the
A. D. 1658.
valour of his troops, he suddenly entered Denmark, then governed by Frederic III. and laid siege to Copenhagen; which must have surrendered, if it had
A. D. 1659.
not been relieved by a Dutch fleet. He made a
second attack on the same capital the year following, though

without success; and the ardour of his spirit being still unabated, he was taking measures to push the war with redoubled vigour against all his enemies, when he was carried off by an epidemical fever that raged in his camp²⁴.

As the son of this warlike and ambitious monarch was yet a minor, peace now became necessary to Sweden. A treaty of general pacification, for the North, was accordingly concluded at Oliva; by which Polish Prussia was restored to Casimir, who ceded Esthonia, and the northern Livonia, to Sweden. The Danish monarch, still under the terror of the Swedish arms, made also considerable sacrifices.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the transactions of England, become powerful and formidable under a republican form of government; and which, during the latter part of the period that we have been reviewing, was the terror and admiration of all Europe.

24. *Id. ibid.*

L E T T E R IX.

The History of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND to the Death of CROMWELL; with an Account of the Affairs of SCOTLAND, IRELAND, and HOLLAND.

THE progress of Cromwell's ambition is an object worthy of a philosophic mind. No sooner was the monarchy abolished than he began seriously to aspire after, what Charles had lost his head for being suspected to aim at, *absolute sovereignty*. But many bars were yet in his way; and much blood was to be spilt, before he could reach that enormous height, or the commonwealth attain the quiet government of the three kingdoms. A. D. 1649.

After the dissolution of that civil and religious constitution, under which the nation had ever been governed, England was divided into a variety of sects and factions, many of which were dissatisfied with the ruling powers, and longed for the restoration of monarchy. But all these were overawed by an army of fifty thousand men, by which the republican and independent faction was supported, and of which Cromwell was the soul. The Commonwealth parliament, as that inconsiderable part of the house of commons that remained was called, finding every thing composed into seeming tranquillity by the terror of its arms, therefore began to assume more the air of legal authority, and to enlarge a little the narrow foundation on which it stood; by admitting, under certain conditions, such of the excluded members as were liable to least exception. A council of state was also named, consisting of thirty-eight persons, to whom all addresses were made; who gave orders to all generals and admirals; who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament¹. Among

¹ *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix.

these counsellors were several peers, who gave still more weight to the government; particularly the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury.

But although the force of the army kept every thing quiet in England, and the situation of foreign powers, as well as the needy and neglected condition of the young king, who had now assumed the title of Charles II. and lived sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, and sometimes in Jersey, which still retained its allegiance, preserved the parliament from all apprehensions from abroad, the state of parties in the sister kingdoms, of Scotland and Ireland, filled the new republic with no small uneasiness.

The Scottish Covenanters, who had begun the troubles, and who bore little affection to the royal family, but who had, notwithstanding, protested against the execution of the king and of the marquis of Hamilton, who was also brought to the block, now rejected the proposition of the English parliament, to mould their government into a republican form. They resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country; and which, by the express terms of the Covenant, they had engaged to defend. They, therefore, declared Charles II. king of Scotland; but expressly on condition "of his good behaviour and strict observance of the Covenant, and of entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation?" Clauses so unusual, inserted in the first acknowledgment of their prince, shewed their intention of limiting extremely his authority; so that the English parliament, foreseeing the disputes that would likely arise between the parties, and having no decent pretext for interfering in the affairs of Scotland, left the Covenanters to settle their government according to their own mind.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland, interested the commonwealth more immediately in the con-

cerns of that island, where the royal cause still wore a favourable aspect. In order to understand this matter fully, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of Irish affairs.

We have already seen, how the parliament attempted to blacken the character of the late king, for concluding, in 1643, that **cessation of arms with the popish rebels**, which was become absolutely necessary for the security of the Irish protestants, as well as requisite for promoting his interest in England. They even went so far as to declare it null and invalid, because finished without their consent: and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. The war was, therefore, still kept alive. But as the hostilities in England hindered the parliament from sending any **considerable assistance to their allies in Ireland**, Inchiquin concluded an accommodation with the marquis of Ormond, whom the king had created lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.

Ormond, who was a native of Ireland, and a man of virtue and prudence, now formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and engaging the Irish rebels to support the royal cause. In this he was assisted by the progress of the arms of the English parliament, from whose fanatical zeal the Irish catholics knew they could expect no mercy. The council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the catholic counties and cities, accordingly concluded, in 1646, a treaty of peace with the lord-lieutenant; by which they engaged to return to their duty and allegiance, to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, in consideration of obtaining a general indemnity for their rebellion, and the unlimited toleration of their religion³.

This treaty, however, so advantageous, and even necessary to both parties, was rendered ineffectual through the in-

3. Carte's *Life of Ormond*.

trigues of an Italian priest, named Rinuccini, whom the pope had sent over to Ireland in the character of nuncio; and who foreseeing, that a general pacification with the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against the peace, which the civil council had concluded with their sovereign. He even thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to a treaty so prejudicial, as he pretended, to the catholic faith: and the deluded Irish, who were alike ignorant and bigoted, terrified at these spiritual menaces, every where renounced their civil engagements, and submitted to the nuncio's authority. Ormond, who was not prepared against such a revolution in the sentiments of his countrymen, was obliged to shelter his small army in Dublin, and the other fortified towns, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Charles, who was then involved in the greatest distress, and had taken refuge, as we have seen, in the Scottish camp, sent orders to the lord-lieutenant, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and Ormond accordingly delivered up, in 1647, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other garrisons to colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament⁴. He himself went over to England, received a grateful acknowledgment of his past services from his royal master, and lived for some time in tranquillity near London; but finding every thing turn out unhappily for his beloved sovereign, and foreseeing that awful catastrophe which afterward overtook him, he retired to France, and there joined the queen and prince of Wales.

During these transactions, the nuncio's authority was universally acknowledged among the catholics in Ireland. By

his insolence and indiscretion, however, he soon made them repent of their bigoted confidence, in entrusting him with so much power: and all prudent men became sensible of the necessity of supporting the declining authority of the king, in order to preserve the Irish nation from that destruction, otherwise inevitable, with which it was threatened by the English parliament. A combination, for this purpose, was accordingly formed, in 1648, among the catholics, by the earl of Clanricarde; a nobleman of an ancient family, who had ever preserved his loyalty. He also entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who still maintained great influence over the protestants in Munster: he attacked the nuncio, and chased him out of the island; and he sent a deputation to the lord-lieutenant, inviting him to return, and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret enmity prevailed. And the authority of the English parliament was still established in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himself had delivered up. He did not, however, let slip the opportunity, though less favourable than could have been wished, of promoting the royal cause. Having collected, by his indefatigable diligence, in spite of every obstacle, an army of sixteen thousand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons, which had been totally neglected by the republican party, while employed in the trial and execution of their sovereign. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor: Drogheda, Newry, and other places, were taken; Dublin itself was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lord-lieutenant wore every where so favourable an aspect, that the young king entertained thoughts of going in person into Ireland^s. But his hopes were soon extinguished in that quarter.

^s. Carte, ubi supra.

The English commonwealth was no sooner established than Ireland became the object of its peculiar attention; and much intrigue was employed by the leading men, in order to procure the government of that island. Lambert expected to obtain it. But Cromwell, who considered Ireland as a new field of glory, as well as a theatre where his ambition might expand itself, without exciting jealousy, had the address to get himself named lord-lieutenant, by the council of state, without seeming to desire such an office. He even affected surprize, and seemed to hesitate, whether he should accept the command. But these hypocritical scruples being got over, he applied himself, in making preparations for his Irish expedition, with that vigour which distinguished all his proceedings. He immediately sent over a reinforcement of four thousand men to colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, in order to enable him to defend that capital; and after suppressing a second mutiny of the Levellers, and punishing the ringleaders, he himself embarked with a body of twelve thousand excellent troops⁶.

In the mean time an event took place that rendered the success of the new lord-lieutenant infallible. Ormond having passed the river Liffy, at the head of the royal army, and taken post at Rathmines, with a view of commencing the siege of Dublin, had begun the reparation of an old fort, which stood near the gates of the city, and was well calculated for cutting off supplies from the garrison. Being exhausted with fatigue, in superintending this labour, he retired to rest, after giving orders to keep his forces under arms. But he was suddenly awaked with the noise of firing, and found all things in tumult and confusion. The officers had neglected Ormond's orders. Jones, an excellent soldier, observing their want of caution, had sallied out with the late reinforcement; and having thrown the Royalists into disorder, totally routed them, in spite of all the efforts of

6 Whitlocke. Ludlow.

the lord-lieutenant. He took their tents, baggage, and ammunition, and returned victorious into the city, after killing four thousand men, and taking two thousand five hundred prisoners⁷.

Soon after this signal victory, which reflected so much honour upon Jones, which tarnished the military reputation of Ormond, and ruined the royal cause in Ireland, Cromwell arrived at Dublin, to complete the conquest of that kingdom. He suddenly marched to Drogheda, which was well fortified, and into which Ormond, foreseeing it would be first invested, had thrown a garrison of three thousand men, under sir Arthur Aston, an officer of tried courage; in hopes of finding the enemy employment in the siege of that place, until he could repair his broken forces. But Cromwell, who knew the importance of dispatch, having made a breach in the fortifications, instantly ordered an assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack; and the furious valour of his troops, at length, bearing down all resistance, the place was entered sword in hand, and a cruel massacre made of the garrison. Even those who escaped the general slaughter, and whom the unfeeling hearts of the fanatical soldiery had spared, were butchered next day, in cold blood, by orders from the English commander; one person alone escaping, to bear the mournful tidings to Ormond⁸.

By this severe execution of military justice, Cromwell pretended to retaliate the cruelties of the Irish massacre. But as he well knew the garrison of Drogheda consisted chiefly of Englishmen, his real purpose evidently was to strike terror into the other garrisons: and his inhuman policy had the desired effect. Having conducted his army to Wexford, the garrison offered to capitulate, after a slight resistance. But this submission did not save them. They

⁷ Ludlow, vol. i. Borlace, p. 222. fol. edit.

⁸ Carte's *Life of Ormond*. Ludlow's *Mem.*

imprudently neglected their defence, before they had obtained a formal cessation of arms; and the English fanatics, now fleshed in blood, rushed in upon them, and executed the same slaughter as at Drogheda. Henceforth every town, before which Cromwell presented himself, opened its gates on the first summons. He had no farther difficulties to encounter but what arose from fatigue and the declining season. Fluxes and contagious distempers crept in among his soldiers, who died in great numbers; and he had advanced so far with his decayed army, that he found it difficult either to subsist in the enemy's country, or to retreat to the parliamentary garrisons. His situation was truly perilous.

But Cromwell's good fortune soon relieved him from his distress. Corke, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, resolving to share the glory of their countrymen, deserted to him, in that extremity, and opened their gates for the reception of his sickly troops. This desertion put an end to Ormond's authority. The Irish, at all times disorderly, could no longer be kept in obedience by a protestant governor, whom their priests represented as the cause of all their calamities. Seeing affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy, Ormond left the island; and Cromwell, well acquainted with the influence of religious prejudices, politically freed himself from all farther opposition, by permitting the Irish officers and soldiers to engage in foreign service. Above forty thousand catholics embraced this voluntary banishment⁹.

These unexpected events, which blasted all the hopes of the young king from Ireland, induced him to listen to the offers of the Scottish Covenanters, and appoint a meeting with their commissioners at Breda. These commissioners had no power of treating. Charles was required to submit, without reserve, to the most ignominious terms surely ever imposed by a people upon their prince. They insisted, that

he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons; or, in other words, all who under Hamilton and Montrose had ventured their lives for his family: that no English subject, who had served against the parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the Covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament by which presbyterian discipline and worship were established; that, in all civil affairs, he should conform himself entirely to the direction of the parliament, and in ecclesiastical, to that of the general assembly of the Kirk.

Most of the king's English counsellors dissuaded him from acceding to such dishonourable conditions. Nothing, they said, could be more disgraceful than to sacrifice, for the empty name of royalty, those principles for which his father died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated; that by such hypocrisy he would lose the Royalists in both kingdoms, who alone were sincerely attached to him, but could never gain the Presbyterians, who would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity. But these sound arguments were turned into ridicule by the young duke of Buckingham, afterward so remarkable for the pleasantry of his humour and the versatility of his character, and who was now in high favour with Charles. Being himself a man of no principle, he treated with contempt the idea of rejecting a kingdom for the sake of episcopacy; and he made no scruple to assert, that the obstinacy of the late king, on the article of religion, ought rather to be held up as a warning, than produced as an example for imitation of his son¹⁰. Charles, whose principles were nearly as libertine as those of Buckingham, and of whose character sincerity formed no part, agreed to every thing demanded of him by the Covenanters; but not before he had received intelligence of the utter failure of his hopes

¹⁰, Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi.

from the Scottish Royalists, in consequence of the total defeat and capture of the marquis of Montrose.

That gallant nobleman, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired to France, where he resided some time inactive, and afterward entered into the imperial service. But no sooner did he hear of the tragical death of his sovereign, than his ardent spirit was inflamed with the thirst of revenge; and, having obtained from young Charles a renewal of his commission of captain-general in Scotland, he set sail for that country with five hundred foreign adventurers. Naturally confident, he hoped to rouse the Royalists to arms, and restore his master's authority, at least in one of his kingdoms. These expectations, however, appear to have been ill-founded. Scotland was wholly under the dominion of Montrose's old enemies, Argyle and the Covenanters, who had severely punished many of his former adherents. They were apprised of his design; and they had a disciplined army ready to oppose him, of such force as left no reasonable prospect of success. By a detachment from this army, Montrose, and the few Royalists who had joined him, were attacked, and totally routed. They were all either killed or made prisoners; the marquis himself, who had put on the disguise of a peasant, being delivered into the hands of his enemies by Mackland of Assin, to whom he had entrusted his person¹¹.

The Covenanters carried their noble prisoner in triumph to Edinburgh, where he was exposed to the most atrocious insults. After being conducted through the public streets, bound down on a high bench in a cart made for the purpose, with his hat off, the hangman by him, and his officers walking two and two in fetters behind him, he was brought before the parliament. Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the horrible murders, treasons, and impieties for which he was now to suffer

condign punishment. Montrose, who bore all these indignities with the greatest firmness, and looked down with a noble disdain on the rancour of his enemies, boldly replied, That in all his warlike enterprizes he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard; that no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle, and many persons were now in his eye—many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers; that he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of a faithful subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and insulted; that, as for himself, he scorned their vindictive, fanatical rage, and was only grieved at the contumely offered to that authority by which he acted ¹².

This speech, so worthy of the heroic character of Montrose, had no effect on his unfeeling judges. Without regard to his illustrious birth or great renown, the man who had so remarkably distinguished himself, by adhering to the laws of his country and the rights of his sovereign, was condemned to suffer the ignominious death allotted to the basest felon. His sentence bore, That he, James Graham, should be carried to the cross of Edinburgh, and there be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high; that his head should be cut off on a scaffold, and fixed on the Tolbooth or city prison; that his legs and arms should be stuck up on the most conspicuous place in the four chief towns in the kingdom, and his body be buried in the place appropriated for malefactors. This last part of his sentence, however, was to be remitted, in case the Kirk, on his repentance, should take off his excommunication. Furnished with so good a pretence, the clergy flocked about him, and exulted over his

12. Burnet, vol. i. Hume, vol. vii.

fallen fortunes, under colour of converting him. He smiled at their enthusiastic ravings, and rejected their spiritual aid: nor did he regard the solemnity with which they pronounced his eternal damnation, or their assurance that his future sufferings would surpass the present, as far in degree as in duration. He shewed himself, through the whole, superior to his fate; and when led forth to execution, amid the insults of his enemies, he overawed the cruel with the dignity of his looks, and melted the humane into tears.

In this last melancholy scene, when enmity itself is commonly disarmed, one effort more was made, by the governing party in Scotland, to subdue the magnanimous spirit of Montrose. The executioner was ordered to tie about his neck, with a cord, that book which had been published, in elegant Latin, by Dr. Wishart, containing the history of his military exploits. He thanked his enemies for their officious zeal; declaring, that he wore this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the Carter: and finding they had no more insults to offer, he patiently submitted to the ignominious sentence¹³. Thus unworthily perished the heroice James Graham, marquis of Montrose, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Great talents he certainly had for war, and also for the polite arts, which he cultivated with success; but his courage appears to have been accompanied with a certain degree of extravagance, which, while it led him to conceive the boldest enterprizes, prevented him from attending sufficiently to the means of accomplishing them. Along with Montrose were sacrificed all the persons of any eminence, who had repaired to his standard, or taken arms in order to second his designs.

Though this cruel and unjust execution of a nobleman, who had acted by royal authority, made the young king more sensible of the furious spirit of the Covenanters, as

well as how little he had to expect from their generosity, his forlorn condition induced him to ratify the agreement with their commissioners, as the only resource left for recovering any part of his dominions. He accordingly embarked with them for Scotland, in a Dutch ship of war, furnished by the prince of Orange, and arrived safe in the frith of Cromarty. Here his humiliations began. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to sign the Covenant, and to hear many sermons and lectures, on the duty of persevering in that holy confederacy. The duke of Hamilton, formerly earl of Lanerk, the earl of Lauderdale, and other noblemen, who had shared his councils abroad, and whom the Covenanters called *Engagers*, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their own houses. None of his English courtiers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; so that he found himself entirely in the hands of Argyle and the more rigid Presbyterians, by whom he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and at whose mercy lay both his life and liberty¹⁴.

In order to please these austere zealots, Charles embraced a measure, which neither his inexperienced youth nor the necessity of his affairs can fully justify. At their request, he published a declaration, which must have rendered him contemptible even to the fanatics who framed it: and yet his refusal might have been attended with the most serious consequences. “He gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the snares of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the Covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father’s following wicked measures; opposing the Covenant and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God’s people throughout all his dominions.

14. Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi.

“ He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father’s house ; a matter of great offence,” he said, “ to all the protestant churches, and a heinous provocation of HIM who is *a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children*. He professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant ; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance any of them, in any part of his dominions ¹⁵.”

This declaration had not the desired effect. The Covenanters and the clergy were still dissident of the king’s sincerity ; and their suspicions were increased when they compared his education, and the levity of his character, with the solemn protestations he had so readily made. They had therefore prepared other trials for him. They meant that he should go through a public penance before his coronation ;—and even to that indignity Charles had consented. In the meantime he found his authority totally annihilated. He was not called to assist at any public council, and his favour was sufficient to discredit any candidate for office or preferment. The same jealousy rendered abortive all his attempts to reconcile the opposite parties. Argyle, the chief leader of the Covenanters, artfully eluded all the king’s advances toward a coalition. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be objects of general hatred and persecution ; and whoever happened to be obnoxious to the clergy, was sure to be branded with one or other of those epithets ¹⁶.

The animosities among the parties in Scotland were so violent, that the approach of an English army was not sufficient to allay them. The progress of that army it must now be our business to observe.

The English parliament was no sooner informed of the

¹⁵ Sir Edward Walker’s *Historical Discourses*. Burnet, vol. i. Hume, vol. vii.

¹⁶ *Id. ibid.*

issue of the negotiations at Breda, than Cromwell was recalled from Ireland: and vigorous preparations were made for hostilities, which it was foreseen would prove inevitable between the two British kingdoms. Ireton was left to govern Ireland, in the character of deputy, during Cromwell's absence; and as Fairfax still retained the name of commander in chief of the forces in England, it was expected that he, assisted by the lord-lieutenant, would conduct the war against Scotland. But although Fairfax had permitted the army to make use of his name in offering violence to the parliament, and in murdering his sovereign, he could not be prevailed upon to bear arms against his covenanted brethren; so inconsistent are the ideas of fanatics in regard to moral duty!

Cromwell, on this occasion, acted the part of a profound hypocrite. Being sent as one of a committee of parliament, to overcome the scruples of Fairfax, (with whose rigid inflexibility, in every thing that he regarded as a matter of principle, Oliver was well acquainted) he went so far as to shed tears, seemingly, of grief and vexation, in the affected earnestness of his solicitations. But all in vain: Fairfax resigned his commission; and Cromwell, whose ambition no one could suspect, after he had laboured so zealously to retain his superior in the chief command, was declared captain-general of all the forces in England¹⁷. This was the greatest step he had yet made toward sovereignty, such a command being of the utmost consequence in a commonwealth that stood solely by arms. Fully sensible of the importance of rank he had attained, the new general immediately assembled his forces; and before the Scots had signified any intention of asserting the right of Charles to the crown of England, he entered their country with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The Scots, who had begun to levy troops, on being

¹⁷. Whitlocke. Clarendon,

threatened with an invasion, now doubled their diligence, and soon brought together a stout army. The command of this army was given to David Lesley, an officer of experience, who formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, after having taken care to remove from the counties between Berwick and Edinburgh, every thing that could serve to subsist the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scottish camp, and tried, by every provocation, to bring Lesley to a battle, but without effect. The prudent Scot, aware, that, though superior in numbers, his army was inferior in discipline to the enemy, kept carefully within his entrenchments; so that Cromwell, reduced to distress for want of provisions, and harassed by continual skirmishes, was obliged to retire to Dunbar, where his fleet lay at anchor. Lesley followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lamermure, which overlook that town. Cromwell, who had but a few days forage, seemed now on the brink of ruin or disgrace. He was conscious of his danger, and is said to have embraced the desperate resolution of sending to Newcastle his foot and artillery by sea, and of attempting, at all hazards, to force his way with his cavalry. But in this he would have found the utmost trouble, as Lesley had taken possession of all the difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick. And could he even have accomplished his retreat, it would have occasioned, in the present unsettled disposition of men's minds, a general insurrection for the king in England¹⁸.

But the enthusiastic zeal of the Scottish clergy relieved Cromwell from all his difficulties. They had ordered the king to leave the camp, on finding he gained on the affections of the soldiery; and they had likewise carefully purged it of a large body of *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose loyalty had led them to attend their young sovereign, and who were

¹⁸. Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi. Whitlocke, p. 471.

men of the greatest credit and military appearance in the nation. They now thought they had an army composed wholly of saints; and so confident were they of success, that after wrestling all night with the Lord in prayer, they forced Lesley, in spite of his earnest remonstrances, to descend into the plain, in order to slay the *sectarian* host. Cromwell, who had also been seeking the Lord in his way, and had felt great *enlargement of heart in prayer*, seeing the Scottish camp in motion, was elated with holy transport. "God," cried he, "is delivering them into our hands: they are coming down to us!" He accordingly commanded his army to advance singing psalms, in proof of his Sept. 3. perfect assurance of victory, and fell upon the Scots before they were disposed in order of battle, after descending the hill. They were suddenly broken, and totally routed. About three thousand fell in the battle and pursuit, and above twice that number were taken prisoners. Cromwell, improving his advantage, made himself master of Edinburgh and Leith, while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling¹⁹. An ague, with which he was seized, and the approach of winter, prevented him from pushing his conquests farther, before the close of the campaign.

The defeat at Dunbar, which broke the power, and brought down the spiritual pride of the Covenanters, who reproached their God with the slaughter of his elect, and of deceiving them by false revelations, was by no means disgraceful to the King. He considered the armies that fought, on both sides, as almost equally his enemies; and he hoped that the vanquished, for their own preservation, would now be obliged to allow him some more authority. He was not deceived. The Scottish parliament, which met soon after at Perth, agreed to admit Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the *Engagers*, to share in the civil and military employments of the kingdom, on their doing public penance. Some *Malignants*

19. *Id ibid.* Sir Edward Walker, *Hist. Disc.* In Ulloa's *Memoirs*, vol. I.

nants, or episcopal Royalists, also crept in among them: and the king's intended penance was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great pomp and solemnity at Scone²⁰.

But Charles, amid all this appearance of respect, was still in a condition that very ill suited his temper and disposition. He remained in the hands of the most rigid Covenanters, and was in reality little better than a prisoner. Exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the presbyterian clergy, and obliged to listen to prayers and sermons, from morn to night, he had no opportunity for the display of his agreeable qualities; and could not help frequently betraying, amid so many objects of ridicule and disgust, evident symptoms of weariness and contempt. For although artful in the practice of courtly dissimulation, he could never mould his features into that starched grimace, which the Covenanters regarded as the infallible sign of conversion. His spiritual guides, therefore, never thought him sufficiently regenerated, but were continually striving to bring him into a more perfect state of grace²¹.

Shocked at all these indignities, and still more tired with the formalities to which he was obliged to submit, Charles
A. D. 1651. attempted to regain his liberty, by joining a body of Royalists, who promised to support him. He accordingly made his escape from Argyle and the Covenanters; but being pursued by colonel Montgomery and a troop of horse, he was induced to return, on finding the Royalists less powerful than he expected. This elopement, however, had a good effect. The king was afterward better treated, and intrusted with more authority; the Covenanters being afraid of renewing their rigours, lest he should embrace some desperate measure²².

The Scottish army was assembled, under Hamilton and

20. Burnet. Walker. Clarendon.

22. Id. *ibid*.

21. Burnet, vol. i.

Lefley, as early as the season would permit, and Charles was allowed to join the camp. But, imminent as the danger was, the Scots were still divided by ecclesiastical disputes. The forces of the western counties, disclaiming the authority of the parliament, would not act in conjunction with an army that admitted any *Engagers* or *Malignants* among them. They called themselves the *Protesters*, and the other party were denominated the *Resolutioners*: distinctions which continued to agitate the kingdom with theological hatred and animosity²³.

Charles, having put himself at the head of his troops, encamped at Torwood, in a very advantageous situation. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the plentiful county of Fife supplied him with provisions. His front, to which the English army advanced, was defended by strong entrenchments; and his soldiers, as well as his generals, being rendered more deliberately cautious by experience, Cromwell in vain attempted to draw them from their posts by offering them battle. After the two armies had faced each other about six weeks, Cromwell sent a detachment over the Forth, into Fife, in order to cut off the king's provisions; and so intent was he on that object, that, losing sight of all beside, he passed over with his whole army, and effectually accomplished his purpose. The king found it impossible to keep his post any longer.

In this desperate extremity, Charles embraced a resolution worthy of a prince contending for empire. He lifted his camp, and boldly marched into England, with an army of fourteen thousand men. Cromwell, whose mind was more vigorous than comprehensive, was equally surprised and alarmed at this movement. But if he had been guilty of an error, in the ardour of distressing his enemy, he took the most effectual means to repair it. He dispatched Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal

23. Burnet, vol. i.

army : he left Monk to complete the reduction of Scotland ; and he himself followed the king with all possible expedition.

Charles had certainly reason to expect, from the general hatred which prevailed against the parliament, that his presence would produce a general insurrection in England. But he found himself disappointed. The English Presbyterians, having no notice of his design, were not prepared to join him ; and the Cavaliers, or old Royalists, to whom his approach was equally unknown, were farther deterred from such a measure, by the necessity of subscribing the Covenant. Both parties were overawed by the militia of the counties, which the parliament had, every where, authority sufficient to raise. National antipathy had also its influence : and the king found, when he arrived at Worcester, that his forces were little more numerous than when he left the borders of Scotland. Cromwell, with an army of thirty thousand men, attacked Worcester on all sides ; and Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and giving many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The duke of Hamilton, who made a desperate resistance, was mortally wounded, and the Scots were almost all either killed or taken. The prisoners, to the number of eight thousand, were sold as slaves to the American planters²⁴.

When the king left Worcester, he was attended by Lesley, the Scottish general, and a party of horse ; but seeing them overwhelmed with consternation, and fearing they could not reach their own country, he withdrew himself from them in the night, with two or three friends, from whom he also separated himself, after making them cut off his hair, that he might the better effect his escape, in an unknown character. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Pendrel, an obscure but honest farmer. Here

he continued for some days, in the disguise of a peasant, employed in cutting faggots along with the farmer and his three brothers. One day, for the better concealment, he mounted a spreading oak; among the thick branches of which he sheltered himself, while several persons passed below in search of their unhappy sovereign, and expressed, in his hearing, their earnest desire of seizing him, that they might deliver him into the hands of his father's murderers ²⁵.

An attempt to relate all the romantic adventures of Charles, before he completed his escape, would lead me into details that could only serve to gratify an idle curiosity. But there is one other anecdote that must not be omitted, as it shews, in a strong light, the loyalty and liberal spirit of the English gentry, even in those times of general rebellion and fanaticism.

The king having met with lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood of Boscobel, they agreed to throw themselves upon the fidelity of Mr. Lane, a zealous Royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. By the contrivance of this gentleman, who treated them with great respect and cordiality, they were enabled to reach the sea-coast; the king riding, on the same horse, before Mr. Lane's daughter to Bristol, in the character of a servant. But, when Charles arrived there, he found no ship would sail from that port, for either France or Spain, for more than a month: he was, therefore, obliged to look elsewhere in quest of a passage. In the mean time, he entrusted himself to colonel Wyndham of Dorsetshire, a gentleman of distinguished loyalty. Wyndham, before he received the king, asked leave to impart the secret to his mother. The request was granted; and that venerable matron, on being introduced to her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandson in defence of his father,

25. This tree was afterward called the *Royal Oak*, and long regarded with great veneration by the people in the neighbourhood:

she was still reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in *his* preservation. The colonel himself told Charles, that his father, sir Thomas, in the year, 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons, and said, "My children! you have hitherto seen serene and quiet times; but I must warn you now to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it should *hang* upon a *busb*!"—"These last words," added Wyndham, "made such impression on our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible character ²⁶."

While the king remained at the house of colonel Wyndham, all his friends in Britain, and over Europe, were held in the most anxious suspense, with respect to his fate. No one could conjecture what was become of him, or whether he was dead or alive; but a report of his death being generally credited, happily relaxed the search of his enemies. Meantime many attempts were made to procure a vessel for his escape, though without success. He was obliged to shift his quarters, to assume new disguises, and entrust himself to other friends, who all gave proofs of incorruptible fidelity and attachment. At last a small vessel was found at Shoreham in Sussex, where he embarked, and arrived safely at Fieschamp, in Normandy, after one and forty days concealment, during which the secret of his life had been entrusted to forty different persons ²⁷.

The battle of Worcester, which utterly extinguished the hopes of the Royalists, afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy* ²⁸; an immediate prospect of that sovereignty which had long been the object of his ambition. Extravagantly elated with his good fortune, he would have

26. Clarendon. Bates. Heathc.

27. Ibid.

28. *Parl. Hist.*

knighted in the field of victory Lambert and Fleetwood, two of his generals, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends from exercising that act of regal authority²⁹. Every place now submitted to the arms of the commonwealth : not only in Great Britain, Ireland, and the contiguous islands, but also on the continent of America, and in the East and West Indies ; so that the parliament had soon leisure to look abroad, and to exert its vigour against foreign nations. The Dutch first felt the weight of its vengeance.

The independence of the United Provinces being secured by the treaty of Munster, that republic was now become the greatest commercial state in Europe. The English had long been jealous of the prosperity of the Hollanders ; but the common interests of religion, for a time, and afterward the alliance between the house of Stuart and the family of Orange, prevented any rupture between the two nations. This alliance had also led the States to favour the royal cause, during the civil wars in England, and to overlook the murder of Dorislaus, one of the regicides, who was assassinated at the Hague by the followers of Montrose. But after the death of William II. prince of Orange, who was carried off by the small-pox, when he was on the point of enslaving the people whom his ancestors had restored to liberty, more respect was shewn to the English commonwealth by the governing party in Holland, which was chiefly composed of violent republicans. Through the influence of that party, a perpetual edict was issued against the dignity of stadtholder. Encouraged by this revolution, the English parliament thought the season favourable for cementing a close confederacy with the States ; and St. John, who was sent over to the Hague, in the character of plenipotentiary, had entertained the idea of forming such a coalition between the two republics as would have rendered their interests inseparable. But their High Mightinesses, unwilling to enter into such a fo-

29. Whitlocke, p. 523.

lemn treaty with a government whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed yet precarious, offered only to renew their former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at some affronts which had been put upon him by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, returned to London with a determined resolution of taking advantage of the national jealousy, in order to excite a quarrel between the two commonwealths³⁰.

The parliament entered into the resentment of their ambassador; and, through his influence, in conjunction with that of Cromwell, was framed and passed the famous *Act of Navigation*, which provided, among other regulations of less importance, That no goods should be imported into England, from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships: nor from any part of Europe, except in such vessels as belong to that country of which the goods are the growth or manufacture. This act, though necessary and truly political as a domestic measure, and general in its restrictions on foreign powers, more especially affected the Dutch, as was foreseen; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsisted and still subsist chiefly by being the carriers and factors of other nations. A mutual jealousy, accompanied with mutual injuries, accordingly took place between the two republics; and a desperate naval war, ultimately occasioned by a dispute about the honour of the flag, was the consequence.

Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, had received from the States the command of a fleet of forty sail, in order to protect the Dutch merchantmen against the English

30. The duke of York being then at the Hague, St. John had the presumption, in a public walk, to dispute the precedency with him. Fired at this insult, the prince Palatine pulled off the ambassador's hat, and bade him respect the son and brother of his king. St. John put his hand to his sword, and refused to acknowledge either the king or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the prince, the proud republican was obliged to seek refuge in his lodgings. *Basnage*, p. 218.

privateers. He was forced, as he pretended, by stress of weather, into the road of Dover, where he met with the celebrated Blake, who commanded an English fleet of only fifteen sail. Elated with his superiority, the Dutch commander, instead of obeying the signal to strike his flag, according to ancient custom, in the presence of an English man of war, is said to have poured a broadside into the admiral's ship. Blake boldly returned the salute, notwithstanding his slender force; and being afterward joined by a squadron of eight sail, he maintained a desperate battle for five hours, and took one of the enemy's ships and sunk another. Night parted the two fleets.

Several other engagements ensued, without any decided advantage. At length Van Tromp, seconded by the famous de Ruyter, met near the Goodwins with the English fleet commanded by Blake; who, although inferior, as formerly, in force, did not decline the combat. A furious encounter accordingly took place; in which the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted uncommon bravery. But the Dutch, as might be expected, were ultimately conquerors. Two English ships were taken, two burnt, and one sunk.

After this victory Tromp, in bravado, fixed a broom to the top of his main-mast, as if determined to sweep the sea of all English vessels. But he was not suffered long to enjoy his triumph. Great preparations were made in England, in order to avenge so mortifying an insult, and recover the honour of the flag. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was speedily fitted out. Blake was again invested with the chief command, having under him Dean and Monk, two worthy associates.

While the English admiral lay off Portland, he descried, by break of day, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six ships of war, sailing up the Channel, with three hundred merchantmen under its convoy. This fleet was commanded by Van Tromp and de Ruyter, who intrepidly prepared themselves to combat their old antagonist, and support that glory which they

had acquired. The battle that ensued was accordingly the most furious that had yet been fought between the hostile powers. Two days was the contest maintained with the utmost rage and obstinacy: on the third, the Dutch gave way, and yielded the sovereignty of the ocean once more to its natural lords. Tromp, however, by a masterly retreat, saved all the merchantment except thirty. But he lost eleven ships of war, and had two thousand men killed³¹.

After this signal overthrow, the naval power of the Dutch seemed, for a time, to be utterly annihilated, and with it their trade. Their commerce by the Channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much reduced; and their fisheries were totally suspended. Almost two thousand of their ships had fallen into the hands of the English seamen. Convinced at last of the necessity of submission, they resolved to gratify the pride of the English parliament by soliciting
A. D. 1653. peace. But their advances were treated with disdain. It was not, therefore, without pleasure the States received an account of the dissolution of that haughty assembly.

The cause of this dissolution it must now be our business to investigate, and to relate the circumstances with which it was accompanied.

The zealous republicans, who had long entertained a well-founded jealousy of the ambitious views of Cromwell, took every opportunity of extolling the advantages of the fleet, while they endeavoured to discredit the army; and, insisting on the intolerable expence to which the nation was subjected, they now urged the necessity of a reduction of the land forces. That able commander and artful politician, who clearly saw, from the whole train of their proceedings, they were afraid of his power, and meant to reduce it, boldly resolved to prevent them, by realizing their apprehen-

31. Burchet's *Naval History*. Campbel's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

sions. He immediately summoned a council of officers ; and as most of them had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied upon him for their future preferment, he found them entirely devoted to his will. They accordingly agreed to frame a remonstrance to the parliament, complaining of the arrears due to the army, and demanded a new representative body. The commons were offended at this liberty, and came to a resolution not to dissolve the parliament, but to fill up their number by new elections.

Enraged at such obstinacy, Cromwell hastened to the House with three hundred soldiers ; some of whom he placed at the door, some in the lobby, and some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend, St. John ; telling him he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him : but there was a necessity, he added, for the glory of God and the good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debates. Afterward starting up suddenly, as if under the influence of inspiration or insanity, he loaded the parliament with the keenest reproaches, for its tyranny, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter. " For shame !" said he to the members, " get you " gone ! and give place to honest men ; to those who will " more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer " a parliament ! I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. " The Lord hath done with you : he hath chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Henry Vane remonstrating against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed, with a loud voice, " O, sir Harry Vane ! sir Harry Vane ! the Lord " deliver me from sir Harry Vane !" words, by which it should seem, that he wished some of the soldiers to dispatch him. Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, " Thou art a whore- " master !" said he ; to another, " Thou art an adulterer !" to a third, " Thou art a drunkard and glutton !" and to a fourth, " Thou art an extortioner !" He commanded a sol-

dier to seize the mace, saying, "What shall we do with *this bauble*? Here," added he, "take it away! It is you," subjoined he, addressing himself to the members, "that have forced me to proceed thus. I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work!" And having previously commanded the foldiers to clear the house, he ordered the door to be locked, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings in Whitehall³².

Thus, my dear Philip, did Oliver Cromwell, in a manner so suitable to his general character, and without bloodshed, annihilate the very shadow of the parliament; in consequence of which daring step, he remained possessed of the whole civil and military power of the three kingdoms. And dispassionate reasoners of all parties, *who had successively enjoyed the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries they had reciprocally suffered revenged on their enemies*, were at last made sensible, That licentious liberty, under whatever pretence its violences may be covered, must inevitably end in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person. Nor were the people, considered as a body, displeased at the violent usurpation of Cromwell, from whom they expected more lenity than from the imperious Republicans, who had hitherto held the reins of government.

This extraordinary man, who now lorded it over his fellow-subjects, was born at Huntingdon in the last year of the sixteenth century, of a good family; though he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small paternal estate. The line of his education was liberal; but his genius being little fitted for the elegant and tranquil pursuits of literature, he made small proficiency in his studies at the universities. He even threw himself into a dissolute course of life, when sent to study the law in one of the inns of court, and consumed the more early years of his manhood in gaming,

32. Whitlocke, p. 554. Ludlow, vol. ii. Clarendon, vol. vi. Hume, vol. vii.

drinking, and debauchery. But all of a sudden, he was seized with a religious qualm; affected a grave and sanctified behaviour, and was soon distinguished among the puritanical party, by the fervour of his devotional exercises. In order to repair his injured fortune, he betook himself to farming; but he spent so much time with his family in prayers, morning and afternoon, that this new occupation served only to involve him in greater difficulties. His spiritual reputation, however, was so high, that, notwithstanding the low state of his temporal affairs, he found means to be chosen a member of the Long Parliament. The ardour of his zeal frequently prompted him to rise in the house, but he was not heard with attention; his person being ungraceful, his voice untunable, his elocution embarrassed, and his speeches tedious, obscure, confused, and often unintelligible. But, as a profound thinker very justly observes, there are, in a great variety of human geniuses, some who, though they see their objects clearly and distinctly in general, yet when they come to unfold their ideas by discourse or writing, lose that luminous conception which they had before attained.

Never was this philosophical truth more fully exemplified than in the character of Oliver Cromwell, whose actions were as decisive, prompt, and judicious, as his speeches were wavering, prolix, and inconclusive. Nor were his written compositions much superior to his speeches; the great defect of both consisting, not in the want of expression, but in the seeming want of ideas. Yet Cromwell, though upward of forty years of age, before he embraced the military profession, soon became an excellent officer, without the help of a master. He first raised a troop, and then a regiment of horse; and it was he who instituted that discipline, and infused that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary forces in the end victorious. He introduced and recommended the practice of enlisting the sons of farmers and freeholders, instead of the debauched and enervated inhabitants of great cities or manufacturing towns. He preached, he prayed, he
fought,

fought, he punished, he rewarded; and inspired first his own regiment, and afterward the whole army, with the wildest and boldest enthusiasm. The steps by which he rose to high command, and attained to sovereignty, we have already had occasion to trace. Let us now view him in the exercise of his authority.

When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, he had three parties in the nation against him; the Royalists, the Presbyterians, and the Republicans. But as each of these had a violent antipathy against both the others, none of them could become formidable to the army: and the Republicans, whom he had dethroned, and whose resentment he had most occasion to fear, were farther divided among themselves. Beside the Independents, they consisted of two sets of men, who had a mutual contempt for each other; namely, the Millenarians, or *first-monarchy-men*, who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ; and the Deists, who utterly denied the truth of Revelation, and considered the tenets of the various sects as alike founded in folly and error. The Deists were peculiarly obnoxious to Cromwell; partly from the remains of religious prejudice, but chiefly because he could have no hold of them by enthusiasm. He therefore treated them with great rigour, and usually denominated them the *Heathens* ³³. The heads of this small division were Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevil, Challoner, Martin, Wildman, and Harrington; men whose abilities might have rendered them dangerous, had not the freedom of their opinions excited the indignation of all parties ³⁴.

Cromwell

33. Burnet, vol. i.

34. Each of the other sects was desirous of erecting a spiritual as well as a temporal dominion; but the Deists, who acted only on the principles of civil liberty, were for abolishing the very appearance of a national church, and leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. (Burnet, vol. i.) Such a project was particularly alarming to the spiritual pride of the Presbyterians; who, since the signing of the Covenant, had considered their religion as the hierarchy. And Cromwell not only quieted them

Cromwell paid more attention to the Millenarians, who had great interest in the army, and whose narrow understanding and enthusiastic temper afforded full scope for the exercise of his pious deceptions. These men, while they anxiously expected the *second coming* of Christ, believed that the saints, among whom they considered themselves to stand in the first class, were alone entitled to govern in the meantime. Cromwell, in conformity with this way of thinking, told them he had only slept in between the *living* and the *dead*, to keep the nation, during that interval, from becoming a prey to the *common enemy*³⁵. And in order to shew them how willing he was they should share his power, since God in his providence had thrown the whole load of government upon his shoulders, he sent, by the advice of his council of officers, summons to an hundred and twenty-eight persons, chiefly gifted men, of different towns and counties of England; to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland. On these illiterate enthusiasts, chosen by himself, he pretended to devolve the whole authority of the state, under the denomination of the Parliament; and as one of the most active and illaminated among them, a leather-seller in London, bore the name of *Praise-God Barbone*, this contemptible assembly was ludicrously called *Barbone's Parliament*³⁶.

Cromwell told these fanatical legislators, on their first meeting, that he never looked to see such a day when Christ should be so owned³⁷: and they, elated with that high dignity to which they supposed themselves exalted; as well as encouraged by the overflowings of the Holy Spirit, thought it

on this score, by assuring them that he would still maintain a public ministry with all due encouragement, but even in some measure conciliated their affections by joining them in a commission with some Independents, to betriers of those that were to be admitted to be efices, and also to dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedral churches. (Id. *ibid.*) The Episcopalians were merely tolerated. Burnet, *ubi sup.*

35. Burnet. vol. i.

36. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

37. Milton's *State Papers*, p. 106.

their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the Reign of the Redeemer³⁸. Meanwhile the Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into a negotiation with them. But although Protestants, and even Presbyterians, they met with a bad reception from senators who had pretensions to such superior sanctity; being regarded as worldly-minded men, intent only on commerce and industry, and whom it was befitting the saints should extirpate, before they undertook the subduing of Antichrist, the *Man of Sin*, and the extending of the Redeemer's kingdom to the uttermost corners of the earth³⁹. The ambassadors, who were strangers to such wild doctrines, remained in astonishment, at finding themselves regarded as the enemies, not of England, but of Christ!

Even Cromwell himself began to be ashamed of the pageant he had set up as a legislature, and with which he meant only to amuse the populace and the army. But what particularly displeased him was, that the members of this enthusiastic parliament, though they derived their authority solely from him, began to pretend powers from the Lord⁴⁰; and as he had been careful to summon in his writs, several persons warm in his interest, he hinted to some of them, that the sitting of such a parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They accordingly met sooner than usual, as had been concerted, and along with Rouse, the speaker of the house of commons, repaired to Cromwell and his council of officers, declaring themselves unequal to the task which they had unwarily undertaken, and resigned their delegated power. But general Harrison, and about twenty other fanatics, remained in the house; and that they might prevent the Reign of the Saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and were preparing to draw up protests, when they were interrupted by colonel

38. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx.

39. Thurloe, vol. i. p. 273, 391.

40. Thurloe, vol. i. p. 393.

White and a party of soldiers. The colonel asked them, what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they.— "Then you may go else where," replied he; "for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years⁴¹."

The council of officers, by virtue of that pretended power which the mock parliament had resigned into their hands, now voted, That it was necessary to temper the liberty of a republic by the authority of a single person. And being in possession of that argument which silences all others, namely force, they prepared what was called the *Instrument of Government*, and declared Oliver Cromwell *Protector*, or supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, the name of king being still odious to their ears. He was accordingly conducted to Whitehall with great solemnity, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him: he was honoured with the title of *Highness*; and having taken the oath required of him, he was proclaimed over all the three kingdoms, without the smallest opposition⁴².

The chief articles in the Instrument of Government were, that the Protector should be assisted by a council of state, which should not consist of more than twenty-one, nor of less than thirteen persons; that in his name all justice should be administered, and from him all honours derived; that he should have the right of peace and war; that the power of the sword should be invested in him jointly with the parliament while sitting, and during the intervals, jointly with the council of state; that he should summon the parliament every three years, and allow it to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution⁴³. The council of state, named in the Instrument, consisted of fifteen persons, strongly attached to the protector; who, in case of a vacancy, had the power of chusing one out of three presented by the remaining members⁴⁴. He had, therefore,

41. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx.

43. *Ibid.*

42. Clarendon. Whitlocke.

44. Whitlocke.

little reason to apprehend any opposition from them in the arbitrary exercise of his authority. An implicit submission to some first magistrate, it must be owned, was become absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the people from relapsing into civil slaughter; so that we may partly admit Cromwell's plea of the *public good*, as an apology for his usurpation; though we should not give entire credit to his declaration, that he would rather have taken a *shepherd's staff* than the *protectorship*⁴⁵.

While Cromwell was thus completing his usurpation over his fellow subjects, he did not neglect the honour or the interests of the nation. Never did England appear more formidable than during his administration. A fleet of an hundred sail was fitted out, under the command of Monk and Dean. They met with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, near the coast of Flanders; and the officers and seamen on both sides, fired with emulation, and animated with the desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean, disputed the victory with the most fierce and obstinate courage. Though Dean was killed in the heat of the action, the Dutch were obliged to retire, with great loss, after a battle of two days; and as Blake had joined his countrymen with eighteen

45. Burnet, vol. i. Cowley's observations on this subject are more sprightly than sound. "The government was broke," says he, "who broke it? It was dissolved, who dissolved it? It was extinguished—who was it but Cromwell, who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff off it? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then possess himself of the whole house, because it is better he, than that only rats should live there!" (*Discourse on the Gen. of Ol. Crom.*) The reflections of Hobbes, on the necessity of the submission of the people in such emergency, are more to the purpose. "The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them; for the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquished. The sovereignty is the soul of the commonwealth, which once departed from the body, the members do no more receive their motion from it. The end of obedience is protection; which, wheresoever a man seeth it, nature appheth his obedience to that power, and his endeavour to maintain it." *Leviathan*, p. 114, fol. edit.

sail, toward the close of the engagement, the English fleet lay off the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of the republic.

But the States made one effort more to retrieve the honour of their flag; and never, on any occasion, did their vigour appear more conspicuous. They not only repaired and manned their fleet in a few weeks, but launched and rigged some ships of a larger size than any they had hitherto sent to sea. With this new armament Trompissed forth, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than yield the contest. He soon met with the English fleet, commanded by Monk; both sides rushed into the combat; and the battle raged from morning till night, without any sensible advantage in favour of either party. Next day the action was continued, and the setting sun beheld the contest undecided. The third morning the struggle was renewed; and victory seemed still doubtful, when Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musket ball. That event at once decided the sovereignty of the ocean. The Dutch lost thirty ships; and were glad to purchase a peace, by yielding to the English the honour of the flag, and making such other concessions as were required of them⁴⁶.

A. D. 1654.

This successful conclusion of the Dutch war, which strengthened Cromwell's authority both at home and abroad, encouraged him to summon a free parliament, according to the stipulation in the Instrument of Government. He took the precaution, however, to exclude all the royalists who had borne arms for the king, and all their sons. Thirty members were returned from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. But the Protector was soon made sensible, that even this circumscribed freedom of election was incompatible with his usurped dominion. The new parliament began its deliberations with

46. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

questioning his right to that authority which he had assumed over the nation. Cromwell saw his mistake, and endeavoured to correct it. Enraged at the refractory spirit of the commons, he sent for them to the Painted Chamber; where, after inveighing against their conduct, and endeavouring to shew the absurdity of disputing the legality of that Instrument, by which they themselves were convoked, he required them to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament. And he placed guards at the door of the lower house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter⁴⁷. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this despotism; but retained, notwithstanding, the same independent spirit which they had discovered at their first meeting. Cromwell, therefore, found it necessary to put an end to their debates. He accordingly dissolved the parliament, before it had sat five months; the time prescribed by that Instrument of Government which he had lately sworn to observe.

The discontents of the parliament communicated themselves to the nation; sir Henry Vane and the old Republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the Long Parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the Protector; and the Royalists observing the general dissatisfaction, without considering the diversity of parties, thought every one had embraced the same views with themselves. They accordingly entered into a conspiracy throughout every part of England; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success. But Cromwell, having information of their purpose, was enabled effectually to defeat it. Many of them were immediately thrown into prison, and the rest were generally discouraged from rising. In one place only the conspiracy broke out into action. Jones, Penruddock, and

⁴⁷. Thurloe, vol. ii.

other gentlemen of the West, proclaimed the king at Salisbury; but they received no accession of force equal to their expectations, and were soon suppressed. The chief conspirators were capitally punished: the lower class were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes ⁴⁸.

The easy suppression of this conspiracy more firmly established the Protector's authority. It at once shewed the turbulent spirit and the impotence of his enemies, and afforded him a plausible pretext for all his tyrannical severities. He resolved no longer to keep any terms with the Royalists. With consent of his council, he therefore issued an edict, for exacting the tenth penny from the whole party: and in order to raise that imposition, which commonly passed by the name of *decimation*, he constituted twelve major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions ⁴⁹. These officers, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the Protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion. They acted as if absolute masters of the liberty and property of every English subject; and all reasonable men were now made sensible, that the nation was cruelly subjected to a military and despotic government.

That government, however, directed by the vigorous spirit of Cromwell, gave England a degree of consequence among the European powers, which it had never enjoyed since the days of Elizabeth. France and Spain at the same time courted the alliance of the Protector; and had Cromwell understood and regarded the interests of his country, it has been said, he would have endeavoured to preserve that balance of power, on which the welfare of England so much depends, by supporting the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition and rising greatness of the

⁴⁸. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

⁴⁹. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx.

house of Bourbon^{so}. But the Protector's politics, though sound, were less extensive. An invasion from France, in favour of the Royal Family, which he had reason to apprehend, on a rupture with that court, he foresaw might prove ruinous to his authority, in the present dissatisfied state of England. From Spain he had nothing of equal danger to fear, while he was tempted to begin hostilities, by the prospect of making himself master of her most valuable possessions in the West Indies, as well as of her plate fleets, by means of the superiority of his naval force. He therefore entered into a negociation with Mazarine, who, as a sacrifice to the jealous pride of the usurper, gave the English princes notice to leave France. They retired to Cologne: and a closer alliance was afterward concluded between the rival powers; in consequence of which, England, as we have already seen, obtained possession of Dunkirk.

Having resolved on a war with Spain, Cromwell fitted out two formidable fleets, while the neighbouring states, ignorant of his intentions, remained in anxious suspense, no one being able to conjecture where the blow would fall. One of these fleets, consisting of thirty ships of the line, he sent into the Mediterranean, under the famous admiral Blake; who, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained, from the duke of Tuscany, reparation for some injuries which the English commerce had formerly sustained from that prince. Blake next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to restrain his piratical subjects from farther depredations on the English. He presented himself also before Tunis; and having there made the same demand, the Dey of that place desired him to look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake, who needed little to be roused by such a defiance, drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery;

while he sent a detachment of sailors in long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship that lay there. The coasts of the Mediterranean, from one extremity to the other, rung with the renown of English valour; and no power, Christian or Mahometan, dared to oppose the victorious Blake.

The other fleet, commanded by admiral Penn, and which had four thousand troops on board, under the direction of general Venables, sailed for the West Indies; where Venables was reinforced with near five thousand militia, from the islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher. The object of the enterprize was the conquest of Hispaniola, the most valuable island in the American archipelago. The commanders accordingly resolved to begin with the attack of St. Domingo, the capital, and at that time the only place of strength in the island. On the approach of the English fleet, the intimidated Spaniards abandoned their habitations, and took refuge in the woods; but observing that the troops were imprudently landed at a great distance from the town, and seemed unacquainted with the country, they recovered their spirits; and falling upon the bewildered invaders, when exhausted with hunger, thirst, and a fatiguing march of two days, in that sultry climate, they put the whole English army to flight; killed six hundred men, and chased the rest on board their ships⁵¹. In order to atone for this failure, Penn and Venables bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without opposition: yet, on their return to England, the Protector, in the first emotions of his disappointment, ordered them both to be sent to the Tower. But Cromwell, although ignorant of the importance of the conquest he had made, took care to support it with men and money⁵²; and Jamaica became a valuable accession to the English monarchy.

51. Burchet's *Naval History*. Thurloe, vol. iii.

52. *Id. ib. d.*

No sooner was the king of Spain informed of these unprovoked hostilities than he declared war against England, and ordered all the ships and goods, belonging
A. D. 1656. to the English merchants, to be seized throughout his extensive dominions. The Spanish commerce, so profitable to England, was cut off, and an incredible number of vessels fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor were the losses of the Spaniards less considerable. An English squadron being sent to cruise off Cadiz for the plate-fleet, took two galleons richly laden, and set on fire two others, which had run on shore ⁵³. This success proved an incentive to a bolder, though a less profitable enterprize. Blake having got intelligence, that a Spanish fleet of sixteen sail, much richer than the former, had taken shelter among the Canaries, immediately steered his course thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very strong posture of defence. The bay was secured by a formidable castle, and seven inferior forts, in different parts of it, all united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, had moored his smaller vessels near the shore, and stationed the larger galleons farther out, with their broadsides to the sea. Rather animated than intimidated by this hostile appearance, Blake, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sailed full into the bay, and soon found himself in the midst of his enemies. After an obstinate dispute, the Spaniards abandoned their galleons, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure; and the wind fortunately shifting, while the English fleet lay exposed to the fire of the castle, and of all the other forts, Blake was enabled to weather the bay, and left the Spaniards in astonishment at his successful temerity ⁵⁴.

These

53. Thurloe, vol. iv.

54. Borchet, ubi sup. This was the last and greatest action of this gallant naval commander, who died in his way home. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican, and zeal for the interests of his country only made him

These vigorous exertions rendered Cromwell's authority equally respected at home and abroad: and to his honour it must be owned, that his domestic administration was as mild and equitable as his situation would permit. He again ventured to summon the parliament; but not trusting, as formerly, to the good-will of the people, he employed all his influence to fill the house with his own creatures, and even placed guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council. A majority in favour of the Protector being procured by these undue means, a motion was made for investing him with the dignity of king; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Republicans, a bill to this purpose was voted, and a committee appointed to reason with him, in order to overcome his pretended scruples. The conference lasted for several days; and although Cromwell's inclination, as well as his judgment, was wholly on the side of the committee, he found himself obliged to refuse so tempting an offer. Not only the ambitious Lambert, and other officers of the army, were prepared to mutiny on such a revolution; the Protector saw himself ready to be abandoned even by those who were most intimately connected with him by family interest. Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, and Desborow his brother-in-law, actuated merely by principle, declared, if he accepted the crown, that they would instantly throw up their commissions, and should never have it in their power to serve him more ⁵⁵.

Cromwell having thus rejected the regal dignity, his friends

serve under the usurper. Though past fifty years of age before he entered into military service of any kind, and near sixty before he commanded at sea, he raised the naval glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained to in any former period. Cromwell, fully sensible of his merit, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expence; and people of all parties, by their tears, bore testimony to his valour, generosity, and public spirit. *Life of Admiral Blake*, by Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

⁵⁵. Thurloe, vol. vi. Ludlow, vol. ii. Burnet, vol. i.

in parliament found themselves obliged to retain the name of a Commonwealth and Protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. A new political system, under the name of *An humble Petition and Advice*, was accordingly framed by the parliament, and presented to the Protector. It differed very little from the *Instrument of Government*; but that being the work of the general officers only, was now represented as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself with safety. Cromwell, therefore, accepted the *humble Petition and Advice*, as the voluntary deed of the whole people of the three united nations; and was anew inaugurated in Westminster-hall, with great pomp and ceremony, as if his power had just taken its rise from this popular instrument⁵⁶.

Emboldened by the appearance of legal authority, the Protector deprived Lambert and other factious officers of their commissions. Richard, his eldest son, a man of the most inoffensive, unambitious character, who had hitherto lived contentedly in the country, on a small estate, which he inherited in right of his wife, was now brought to court, introduced to public business, and generally regarded as heir to the protectorship. But the government was yet by no means settled. Cromwell, in consequence of that authority with which he was vested by the *humble Petition and Advice*,

A. D. 1658. having summoned a house of peers, or persons who were to act in that capacity, soon found that he had lost his authority among the national representatives, by exalting so many of his friends and adherents to the higher assembly. A decided majority, in the house of commons, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that other house, which he had established, and even questioned the legality of the authority by which it was constituted; as the humble

56. Whitlocke. Clarendon,

Petition and Advice had been voted by a parliament, which lay under constraint, and was deprived by military force of a considerable number of its members. Dreading a combination between the commons and the malecontents in the army, the Protector, with many expressions of anger and disappointment, dissolved the parliament ⁵⁷. When entreated by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into so rash a measure, he swore by the living God that they should not sit a moment longer, be the consequences what they might.

This violent breach with the parliament left Cromwell no hopes of ever being able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or to temper the military with any mixture of civil authority: and to increase his uneasiness, a conspiracy was formed against him by the Millenarians in the army, under the conduct of Harrison and other discarded officers of that party. The Royalists too, in conjunction with the heads of the Presbyterians, were encouraged to attempt an insurrection. Both these conspiracies, by his vigilance and activity, the Protector was enabled to quell; but the public discontents were so great, that he was under continual apprehensions of assassination. He never moved a step without strong guards: he wore armour under his cloaths, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went: he performed every journey with hurry and precipitation: he seldom lay above three nights together in the same chamber, and he never let it be known before-hand in which he intended to pass the night; nor did he trust himself in any that was not provided with a back-door, where centinels were carefully placed ⁵⁸.

Equally uneasy in society and solitude, the Protector's body began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health seemed visibly to decline. He was seized with

57. Whitlocke.

58 Ludlow. Whitlocke. Bates.

a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague, attended with dangerous symptoms; and he at length saw the necessity of turning his eye toward that future state of existence, the idea of which had at one time been intimately present to him, though lately somewhat obscured by the projects of ambition, the agitation of public affairs, and the pomp of worldly greatness. Conscious of this, he anxiously asked Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, if it was certain that the elect could never suffer a final reprobation. "On that you may with confidence rely," said Goodwin. "Then am I safe," replied Cromwell; "for I am sure that I once was in a state of grace!" Elated by new visitations and assurances, he began to believe his life out of all danger, notwithstanding the opinion of the most experienced physicians to the contrary. "I tell you," cried he to them, with great emotion,— "I tell you I shall not die of this distemper! Favourable answers have been returned from Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but also to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord ⁵⁹."

Notwithstanding this spiritual consolation, which proves that Cromwell, to the last, was no less an enthusiast than a hypocrite, his disorder put a period to his life and his fanatical illusions, while his inspired chaplains were employed in returning thanks to Providence, for the undoubted pledges which they received of his recovery ⁶⁰!—and on the third of September, the day that had always been esteemed so fortunate to him, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The most striking features of his character I have already had occasion to delineate, in tracing the progress of his ambition. It can, therefore, only be necessary

59. Bates. See also Thurloe, vol. vii. *ed. 1720* p. 101. *ed. 1720* p. 101.

60. *Id. ibid.* Goodwin, who, but a few minutes before the Protector expired, says Burnet, had pretended to assure the people, in a prayer, that he was not to die, had afterward the impudence to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us! and we are deceived!" *Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i. *ed. 1720* p. 101.

here to combine the separate sketches, and conclude with some general remarks.

Oliver Cromwell, who died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and who had risen from a private station to the absolute sovereignty of three ancient kingdoms, was of a robust but ungraceful make, and of a manly but clownish and disagreeable aspect. The vigour of his genius and the boldness of his spirit, rather than the extent of his understanding or the lustre of his accomplishments, first procured him distinction among his countrymen, and afterward made him the terror and admiration of Europe. His abilities, however, had been much over-rated. Fortune had a considerable share in his most successful violences. The *Self-denying Ordinance*, and the conscientious weakness of Fairfax, led him, by easy steps, to the supreme command; and the enthusiastic folly of the Covenanters served to confirm his usurped authority. But that authority could neither be acquired nor preserved without talents; and Cromwell was furnished with those that were admirably suited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was destined to act. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, and of concealing his own; of blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy; of reconciling a seeming incoherence of ideas with the most prompt and decisive measures, and of commanding the highest respect amid the coarsest familiarity⁶¹. By these

61. Among his ancient friends, we are told, he would frequently relax himself by trifling amusements: by jesting, or making burlesque verses: and that he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic buffoonery and horse-play; such as putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers who attended him, blacking their faces, or throwing cushions at them, which they did not fail to return. (Whitlocke. Ludlow. Bates.) We are also informed by the same authors, that, when he had any particular point to gain with the army, it was usual for him to take some of the most popular sergeants and corporals to bed with him, and to ply them there with prayers and religious discourses.

talents,

talents, together with a coincidence of interests, he was able to attach and to manage the military fanatics; and by their assistance, to subdue the parliament, and to tyrannize over the three kingdoms. But in all this there was nothing extraordinary; for an army is so forcible, and at the same time so rude a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society⁶².

The moral character of Cromwell is by no means so exceptionable as it is generally represented. On the contrary, it is truly surprising, how he could temper such violent am-

62. Mr. Cowley expresses himself abashed on this subject. "If craft be wisdom, and dissimulation wit," says he, "I will not deny Cromwell to have been singular in both: but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that, as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last; neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought they gained as much by their dissembling as he did by his. His very actions of gallantry grew at last so cautious, as if a player, by putting on a gown, faced think that he exactly represented a woman, though his beard at the same time were seen by all the spectators." If you ask me why they did not hiss and explode him off the stage, I can only answer, "That day came not to his part, and the actors and the door-keepers were too busy for the company." (*Works of John Cowley, Esq. Government of Great Britain*.) The military establishment, during Cromwell's administration, did not consist of more than forty thousand men. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling, and the horsemen two shillings and six-pence a day. (Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395. Vol. ii. p. 414.) This defrable maintenance, at a time when living was much cheaper than at present, induced the sons of farmers and small freeholders to enlist in the army, and proved a better security to the Protector's authority than all his canting, praying, and pious colling. Men who felt no less gainful a profession, were naturally attached to the person who encouraged it, and averse against the establishment of civil government, which was then the more unnecessary.

Cromwell is said to have expended only the usual pension annually, in procuring private intelligence; and it was long supposed, that he was intimately acquainted with the secret councils of all the courts of Europe; but since the publication of *Charles's Secret History*, it appears, that this money was chiefly employed in procuring information of the intrigues of the Royalists, and that the Protector had little intelligence of foreign councils, except of those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed.

lition, and such enraged fanaticism, with so much regard to justice and humanity. Even the murder of the king, his most atrocious measure, was to him covered under a cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is possible that, like many others concerned in it, he considered it as the most meritorious action of his life. For it is the peculiar characteristic of fanaticism to give a sanction to any measure, however cruel and unjust, that tends to promote its own interests, which are supposed to be the same with those of the Deity; and to which, consequently, all moral obligations ought to give place.

L E T T E R . X.

The Commonwealth of ENGLAND, from the Death of the Protector to the Restoration of the Monarchy.

IT was generally believed, that Cromwell's arts and policy were exhausted with his life; that having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, and almost every individual, he could not much longer have maintained his authority. And when the potent hand, which had hitherto conducted the government of the commonwealth, was removed, every one expected that the unwieldy and ill-constructed machine would fall to pieces. All Europe, therefore, beheld with astonishment his son Richard, an inexperienced and unambitious man, quietly succeed to the protectorship. The council recognised his authority: his brother Henry, who governed Ireland with popularity, insured him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk, who still possessed the chief command in Scotland, and who was much attached to the family of Cromwell, there proclaimed the new Protector without opposition. The fleet, the army, acknowledged his title: he received congratulatory addresses

from

from the counties and most considerable corporations, in terms of the most dutiful allegiance, and foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments; so that Richard, whose moderate temper would have led him to decline any contest for empire, was tempted to accept of a sovereignty which seemed tendered to him by universal consent.

But this consent, as Richard had soon after occasion to experience, was only a temporary acquiescence, until each party could concert measures, and act effectually for its own interest. On the meeting of the parliament, which A. D. 1659. it was found necessary to summon, in order to furnish supplies, the new Protector found himself involved in inextricable difficulties. The most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood his brother-in-law, and Desborow his uncle, who were extremely attached to republican principles, if not to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the saints, began to enter into cabals against him. Overton, Ludlow, Rich, and other officers whom Oliver had discarded, again made their appearance, and also declaimed against the dignity of Protector; but, above the rest, Lambert, who was now roused from his retreat, inflamed by his intrigues all those dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion¹. As the discontented officers usually met at Fleetwood's apartments, the party was denominated, from the place where he lived, *The Cabal of Wallingford-house*.

Richard, who possessed neither vigour nor superior discernment, was prevailed upon, amid these commotions, to give his consent inadvertently to the calling of a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as was pretended, for the good of the army. But they were no sooner assembled than they voted a remonstrance, in which they lamented, that *the good old cause*, as they termed it, was

1. Whitlocks. Ludlow.

utterly neglected; and proposed as a remedy, that the whole military power should be vested in some person in whom they could all confide. The Protector was justly alarmed at these military cabals, and the commons had no less reason to be so. They accordingly voted, that there should be no future meeting, or general council of officers, except with the Protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought matters to extremity. The officers hastened to Richard, and rudely demanded the dissolution of the parliament. Unable to resist, and wanting resolution to deny, the Protector complied with their request. With the parliament his authority was supposed to expire, and he soon after signed his resignation in form. His brother Henry, though endowed with more abilities, also quietly resigned the government of Ireland². Thus, my dear Philip, fell from an enormous height, but, by rare fortune, without bloodshed, the family of the Cromwells, to that humble station from which they had risen. Richard withdrew to his estate in the country; and as he had done hurt to no man, so no man ever attempted to hurt him³: a striking instance, as Burnet remarks, of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence!

The council of officers being now possessed of supreme

2. *Ibid.*

3. Even after the Restoration he remained unmolested. He thought proper, however, to travel for some years; and had frequently the mortification, while in disguise, to hear himself treated as a blockhead, for reaping no greater benefit from his father's crimes. But Richard, who was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition, wisely preferred the peace of virtue to the glare of guilty grandeur. When some of his partizans offered to put an end to the intrigues of the officers, by the death of Lambert, he rejected the proposal with horror. "I will never," said he, "purchase power or dominion "by such sanguinary measures!" He lived, in contentment and tranquillity, to an extreme old age, and died toward the latter part of queen Anne's reign. He appears to have had nothing of the enthusiast about him; for we are told that, when murmurs were made against certain promotions in the army, he smartly replied, "What! would you have me to prefer none but the "godly? Now here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, "yet will I trust him before ye all!" Ludlow's *Memoirs*.

autho-

authority, began to deliberate what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it was apprehended the people would with difficulty be induced to pay taxes levied by arbitrary will and pleasure, it was thought safer to preserve some shadow of civil authority. They accordingly agreed to revive the *Rump*, or that remnant of the Long Parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwell; in hopes that these members, having already felt their own weakness, would thenceforth be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders.

But in this expectation they were deceived. Though the parliament, exclusive of the officers of the army, consisted only of about forty Independents (for the Presbyterians, who had formerly been excluded, were still denied their seats), yet these being all men of violent ambition, and some of them of experience and abilities, resolved, since they enjoyed the title of supreme authority, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They therefore elected a council, in which they took care that the members of the cabal of Wallingford-house should not be the majority. They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted an express article in his commission, that it should continue only during the pleasure of the house. They chose seven persons, who were to fill up such commands as became vacant; and they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and signed by him in the name of the house⁴.

These precautions, the purpose of which was visible, gave great disgust to the principal military officers; and their discontent would, in all probability, have immediately broke out in some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the common enemy. The bulk of the nation now consisted of Royalists

4. Whitlocke. Ludlow. Clarendon.

and Presbyterians. To both these parties the dominion of the pretended parliament, and of the army, was become equally obnoxious: a secret reconciliation, therefore, took place between them; and it was agreed, 'That, burying former animosities in oblivion, every possible effort should be made for the overthrow of the Rump, and the restoration of the royal family. A resolution was accordingly taken, in many counties, to rise in arms; and the king, attended by the duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects.

But this confederacy was disconcerted by the treachery of sir Richard Willis; who being much trusted by sir Edward Hyde, the king's chief counsellor, and by the principal Royalists, was let into all the designs of the party. He had been corrupted by Cromwell, whom he enabled to disconcert every enterprize against his usurped authority, by confining, beforehand, the persons who were to be the actors in it: and he continued the same traitorous correspondence with the parliament, without suspicion or discovery. The Protector, and Thurloe his secretary, now secretary to the parliament, were alone acquainted with this treachery^a; and by the penetration and craft of Moreland, Thurloe's under secretary, the whole was at last discovered in sufficient time to put the king on his guard, though not to prevent the failure of the concerted insurrection. Many of the conspirators, in the different counties, were thrown into prison; and the only considerable party that had taken arms (under sir George Booth, by reason of his not being seasonably informed of the treachery of Willis), and which had seized

^a 5. Burnet, vol. i. *History of the Reformation*; *Thurloe's* *Secretaries*.

6. Id. *ibid.* This was one of the master-strokes of Cromwell's policy. Having all the king's party in a net, and pleased that the superior lenity of his administration should be remarked, he let them dance in it at pleasure; and when he confined any of them, as he afterward restored them to liberty, his precaution passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion. For he never brought any of them to trial, except for conspiracies that admitted of the fullest proof.

Chester, was dispersed by a body of troops under Lambert ⁷.

Lambert's success hastened the ruin of the parliament. At the request of his officers, whom he had debauched by liberalities, he transmitted a petition to the commons, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed commander in chief, himself lieutenant-general, Desborow major-general of the horse, and Monk of the foot. The parliament, alarmed at the danger, voted that they would have no more general officers; vacated Fleetwood's commission, and vested the command of the army in seven persons, of whom he was one. Sir Arthur Hazelrig even proposed the impeachment of Lambert. But that artful and able general, despising such impotent resolutions, advanced with his hardy veterans to London; and taking possession, early in the morning, of all the streets that led to Westminster hall, intercepted the speaker, and excluded the other members from the house ⁸.

Finding themselves thus once more possessed of the supreme authority, the substance of which they intended for ever to retain, though they might bestow on others the shadow, the officers elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were of their own body. These they pretended to invest with sovereign power, under the name of a *Committee of Safety*. They frequently spoke of summoning a parliament chosen by the people, though nothing could be farther from their intentions; but they really took some steps toward assembling a military parliament, composed of officers elected from every regiment in the army ⁹. The most melancholy apprehensions prevailed among the nobility and gentry, throughout the three kingdoms, of a general massacre and extermination; and among the body of the people, of a perpetual and cruel servitude under those sanctified robbers, who threatened the extirpa-

7. Burnet, ubi sup.

9. Ludlow's Mem.

8. Whitlocke. Ludlow. Clarendon.

tion of all private morality, as they had already expelled all public law and justice from the British dominions¹⁰.

While England, and her sister-kingdoms, Scotland and Ireland, were thus agitated with fears and intestine commotions, Charles II. their lawful sovereign, was wandering on the continent, a neglected fugitive. After leaving Paris, he went to Spa, and thence to Cologne, where he lived two years, on a small pension paid him by the court of France, and some contributions sent him by his friends in England. He next removed to Brussels, where he enjoyed certain emoluments from the Spanish government. Sir Edward Hyde, who had shared all his misfortunes as well as those of his father, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants. At last, reduced to despair, by the failure of every attempt for his restoration, he resolved to try the weak resource of foreign aid, and went to the Pyrenees, when the two prime ministers of France and Spain were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Lewis de Haro received him with warm expressions of kindness, and indicated a desire of assisting him, if it had been consistent with the low condition of the Spanish monarchy; but the cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Commonwealth of England, refused so much as to see him¹¹.

At this very time, however, when Charles seemed abandoned by all the world, fortune was paving the way for him, by a surprising revolution, to mount the throne of his ancestors in peace and triumph. It was to general Monk, commander in chief in Scotland, that the king was to owe his restoration, and the three kingdoms the determination of their bloody dissensions. Of this man it will be proper to give some account.

George Monk, descended from an ancient and honourable family in Devonshire, but somewhat fallen to decay,

10. Hume, vol. vii.

11. Clarendon.

was properly a soldier of fortune. He had acquired military experience in Flanders, that great school of war to all the European nations; and though alike free from superstition and enthusiasm, and remarkably cool in regard to party, he had distinguished himself in the royal cause, during the civil wars of England, as colonel in the service of Charles I. But being taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, where he endured, for above two years, all the rigours of poverty and imprisonment, he was at last induced by Cromwell to enter into the service of the parliament, and sent, according to his agreement, to act against the Irish rebels; a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcileable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once, however, engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders, and found himself necessitated to act, both against the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and against Charles II. in Scotland. On the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk, as we have already had occasion to observe, was vested with the supreme command; and, by the equality and justice of his administration, he acquired the good-will of the Scots, at the same time that he kept their restless spirit in awe, and secured the attachment of his army¹².

The connexions which Monk had formed with Oliver, kept him faithful to Richard Cromwell; and not being prepared for opposition, when the Long Parliament was restored, he acknowledged its authority, and was continued in his command. But no sooner was the parliament expelled by the army, than he protested against the violence. And resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate the invaded privileges

12. Gunable's *Life of Monk*. Ludlow's *Memoirs*. Monk is said to have advised Cromwell to attack the Scots at Dunbar, even before they had left their mountainous situation. "They," observed he, in support of his opinion, "have numbers and the hills, we discipline and despair!" (Id. *ibid.*) A sentiment truly military, and utterly devoid of that fanaticism which governed Cromwell on the occasion.

of that assembly, though in reality disposed to effect the restoration of his sovereign, he collected his scattered forces, and declared his intention of marching into England. The Scots furnished him with a small, but seasonable supply of money, and he advanced toward the borders of the two kingdoms with a body of six thousand men. Lambert, he soon learned, was coming northward with a superior army; and, in order to gain time, he proposed an accommodation. The Committee of Safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, under pretence that they had exceeded their powers, and drew the Committee into a new negotiation.

In the meantime Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The parliament was restored: and, without taking any notice, of Lambert, the commons sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to certain garrisons which were appointed them as quarters. In consequence of these orders, Lambert was deserted by the greater part of his troops, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the parliament, but who had resumed their com-
A.D. 1660.
mands, were confined to their houses; and Sir Henry Vane, and some other members, who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were ordered into a like confinement. Monk, though informed of the restoration of the parliament, continued to advance with his army; and, at last, took up his quarters in Westminster. When introduced to the house, he declared, That while on his march, he observed an anxious expectation of a settlement among all ranks of men; that they had no hope of such a blessing but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and the summoning of a new one, free and full; which, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation. And it would be sufficient, he added, for public security, as

well as for liberty, if the fanatical party and the Royalists were excluded ¹³.

This speech, though little agreeable to the assembly to which it was addressed, diffused universal joy among the people. The hope of peace and concord broke, like the morning sun, from the darkness in which the nation was involved, and the memory of past calamities disappeared. The Royalists and the Presbyterians, forgetting former animosities, seemed to have but one wish, and equally to lament the dire effects of their calamitous divisions. The Republican parliament, though reduced to despair, made a last effort for the recovery of its dominion. A committee was sent with offers to the general. Proposals were even made by some, though enemies to a supreme magistrate, for investing him with the dignity of Protector; so great were their apprehensions of the royal resentment, or the fury of the people ¹⁴. He refused to hear them except in the presence of the secluded members; and having, in the meantime, opened a correspondence with the city of London, and placed its militia in sure hands, he pursued every measure proper for the settlement of the nation, though he still pretended to maintain republican principles.

The secluded members, encouraged by the general's declaration, went to the house of commons, and entering without obstruction, immediately found themselves to be the majority. They began with repealing the ordinances by which they had been excluded: they renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers: they established a Council of State, consisting chiefly of those men who, during the civil war, had made a figure among the Presbyterians; and having passed these, and other votes, for the present composition of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament ¹⁵.

13. Gumble's *Life of Monk*:

14. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

The Council of State conferred the command of the fleet on admiral Montague, whose attachment to the royal family was well known; and thus secured the naval, as well as military force, in hands favourable to the projected revolution. But Monk, notwithstanding all these steps toward the re-establishment of monarchy, still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth; and had never declared, otherwise than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's interests. At last a critical circumstance drew a confession from him. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from Charles, applied for access to the general, and absolutely refused to communicate his business to any other person. Monk, pleased with this closeness, so conformable to his own temper, admitted Granville into his presence, and opened to him his whole intentions. He refused however, to commit any thing to writing; but delivered a verbal message, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, lest he should be detained as a pledge for the restitution of Dunkirk and Jamaica¹⁵.

The elections for the new parliament were every where carried in favour of the friends of monarchy; for although the parliament had voted, That no one should be elected who had himself, or whose father had born arms for the late king, little regard was paid to this ordinance. The passion for liberty, which had been carried to such violent extremes, and produced such bloody commotions, began to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience. The earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Roberts, Denzil Hollis, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other leaders of the Presbyterians, were resolved to atone for their past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal cause¹⁶. Nor were the affairs of Ireland in a condition less favourable to the restoration of monarchy. Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and sir Charles Coote,

¹⁵. Landsdown. Clarendon.

¹⁶. Clarendon. Whitlocks.

president of Connaught, had even gone so far as to enter into a correspondence with the king; and, in conjunction with sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took possession of the government, and excluded general Ludlow, who was zealous for the parliament, but whom they represented as in league with the committee of Safety¹⁷.

All those promising views, however, had almost been blasted by certain unfortunate circumstances. On the admission of the secluded members into parliament, the heads of the republican party were seized with the deepest despair, and endeavoured to infuse the same sentiments into the army. The king's death, the execution of so many of the nobility and gentry, the sequestration and imprisonment of the rest, were in their eyes crimes so black, that they must be prosecuted with the most implacable resentment. When these suggestions had begun to operate upon the troops, Lambert suddenly made his escape from the Tower. Monk and the Council of State, who were well acquainted with his vigour and activity, as well as with his popularity in the army, were thrown into the utmost consternation at this event. But happily colonel Ingolfsby, who was immediately dispatched after him, overtook him at Daventry, before he had assembled any considerable force, and brought him back to his place of confinement. In a few days he would have been formidable.

When the parliament first met, the leading members exerted themselves chiefly in the bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of the late king; no one yet daring to make any mention of the second Charles. At length the general, having sufficiently founded the inclinations of the commons, gave directions to Annesly, president of the council, to inform them, That sir John Granvill, one of the king's servants, was now at the door with a letter from his majesty to

the parliament. The loudest acclamations resounded through the house on this intelligence. Granville was called in; and the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was greedily read. The declaration was well calculated to promote the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of a settlement. It offered a general amnesty, leaving particular exceptions to be made by parliament: it promised liberty of conscience: it assured the soldiers of their arrears, and the same pay they then enjoyed; and it submitted to parliamentary arbitration, an inquiry into all grants, purchase, and alienations¹⁸.

The peers perceiving the spirit with which the nation, as well as the house of commons, was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient rights, and take their share in the settlement of the government. They found the doors of their house open, and were all admitted without exception. The two houses attended while the king was proclaimed in Palace yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar; and a committee of lords and commons was dispatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the kingdom. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the allegiance of his own subjects; and the formerly neglected Charles was, at the same time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their sea-ports. He chose to accept the invitation of the latter; and had the satisfaction, as he passed from Breda to the Hague, to be received with the loudest acclamations. The States-general, in a body, made their compliments to him with the greatest solemnity; and all ambassadors and foreign ministers expressed the joy of their masters at his change of fortune¹⁹.

The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the parliament persuaded the officers to tender their duty to their sovereign. The king went on board, and the duke of York took the command of the fleet, as high admiral²⁰. When Charles

18. Clarendon.

19. Ibid.

20. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

disembarked at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of Father. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which happened to be his birth-day, amid the acclamations of an innumerable multitude of people, whose fond imaginations formed the happiest presages from the concurrence of two such joyful occasions; and the nation in general expressed the most sincere satisfaction at the restoration of their ancient constitution and their native prince, without the effusion of blood ²¹.

We must now, my dear Philip, take a retrospective view of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, before we carry farther the general transactions of Europe. Without such a survey, we should never be able to judge distinctly of the interests, claims, quarrels, and treaties of the several European nations.

21. Ibid.

L E T T E R. XI.

The Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

THE discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies, and of the Spaniards in America, soon excited the ardour, the avarice, and the ambition of other European nations. The English and Dutch were particularly tempted, by their maritime situation and commercial spirit, as well as by their great progress in navigation, to use every effort to share in the riches of the East and West; and the Reformation, by abolishing the papal jurisdiction, left them free from religious restraints. Nor did the Dutch long want other motives, which necessity made them obey, for entering

tering into a competition with the destroyers of the New World and the conquerors of India, in those distant seats of their wealth and power. Before I relate the bold enterprizes of these republicans, however, it will be proper to trace the farther progress of the Portuguese and Spaniards in navigation, commerce, and colonization ¹.

No sooner had Cortez completed the conquest of the Mexican empire, than he ordered ship-builders to repair to Zacatula, a port on the South Sea, in order to equip a fleet destined for the Molucca islands. From their trade with those islands the Portuguese drew immense wealth; all which he hoped to secure for the crown of Castile, by a shorter navigation ². But he was ignorant, that during the progress of his victorious arms in the New World, the very plan he was attempting to execute had been prosecuted with success by a navigator in the service of his country.

A. D. 1511.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, who had acted several years in the East Indies with distinguished valour, as an officer under the famous Albuquerque, disgusted with his general, and slighted by his sovereign, renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Spain, in hopes that his merit would there be more justly estimated. He endeavoured to recommend himself by reviving Columbus's original project of discovering a passage to India by a westerly course, and without encroaching on that portion of the globe allotted to the Portuguese by the pope's line of demarcation. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the Spanish councils, listened with a favourable ear to Magellan's proposal, and recommended it to his master Charles V. who entering into the measure with ardour, honoured Magellan with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain-general, and furnished him with five ships, victualled for two years, in order to enable him to accomplish his undertaking.

1. For an account of their first discoveries and conquests, see Part I. Let. LVII.

2. Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. x.

With this squadron Magellan sailed from Seville on the 10th of August, 1519; and after touching at the Canaries, stood directly south, toward the equinoctial, along the coast of America. But he was so long retarded by tedious calms, and spent so much time in searching every bay and inlet, for that communication with the South Sea which he wished to discover, that he did not reach the river de la Plata till the 12th of January 1520. Allured to enter by the spacious opening through which that vast body of water pours itself into the Atlantic, he sailed up it for some days; but concluding at last, from the shallowness of the stream, and the freshness of the water, that the wished-for strait was not situated there, he returned and continued his course toward the south. On the 31st of March he arrived at Port St Julian, about forty-eight degrees south of the line, where he resolved to winter, the severe season then coming on in those latitudes. Here he lost one of his ships, and the Spaniards suffered so much from the excessive rigour of the climate, that they insisted on his relinquishing the visionary project, and returning to Europe. But Magellan, by ordering the principal mutineer to be assassinated, and another to be publicly executed, overawed the remainder of his followers, and continued his voyage still toward the south. In holding this course he at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs of his officers. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous passage, which still bears his name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and inspired him with new hopes while his adventurous soul eluded itself to Heaven in a transport of joy for the success which had already attended his endeavours³.

Magellan, however, was still at a great distance from the object of his wishes; and greater far than he imagined.

3. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 3. lib. vii. c. 2.

Three months and twenty days did he sail in an uniform direction toward the north-west, without discovering land; during which voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, his people suffered incredible distresses from scarcity of provisions, putrid water, and all their attendant maladies. One circumstance, and one only, afforded them some consolation: they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such mild winds as induced Magellan to bestow on that ocean the epithet of *pacific*. At length they fell in with a cluster of small islands, which afforded them refreshments in such abundance that their health was soon restored. From these islands, which he called *Ladrones*, he continued his voyage and soon made a discovery of the *Manillas*; since denominated the *Philippine Islands*, from Philip II. of Spain, who first planted a colony in them. In Zebu, one of the Philippines, Magellan got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of well-armed troops: and while he fought gallantly at the head of his men, he was slain together with several of his officers by those fierce barbarians⁴. April. 26.

On the death of this great navigator, the expedition was prosecuted under different commanders. They encountered many difficulties in ranging through the smaller islands scattered in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, touched at the great island of Borneo, and at last landed at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese; who, ignorant of the figure of the earth, could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had reached that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce, which they themselves had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction!—At this, and the adjacent islands, the Spaniards found a people acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of spices, the distinguished produce of those islands; and with that,

A. D. 1522.

4. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

together with specimens of the commodities yielded by the other rich countries which they had visited, the *Victory*, which of the two remaining ships was most fit for a long voyage, set sail for Europe under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the
 Sept. 6. Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope; and, after a variety of disasters, arrived safe at St. Lucar⁵.

The Spanish merchants eagerly engaged in that alluring commerce, which was thus unexpectedly opened to them; while their men of science were employed in demonstrating, That the spice islands were so situated as to belong to the crown of Castile, in consequence of the partition made by pope Alexander VI. But the Portuguese, alarmed at the intrusion of such formidable rivals, remonstrated and negotiated in Europe, at the same time that they obstructed in Asia the trade of the Spaniards; and Charles V. always
 A. D. 1529. needy, notwithstanding his great resources, and unwilling to add a rupture with Portugal to the numerous wars in which he was then engaged, made over to that crown his claim to the Moluccas for a sum of money⁶.

In consequence of this agreement, the Portuguese continued undisturbed, and without a rival, masters of the trade of India; and the Manillas lay neglected, till Philip II. succeeded to the crown of Spain. Soon after his
 A. D. 1555. accession, Philip formed the scheme of planting a colony in those islands, to which he gave the name of the Philippines. This he accomplished by means of an armament fitted out for New Spain. Manilla, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of the new establishment; and, in order to induce the Spaniards to settle there, the rising colony was authorised to send India goods to America, in exchange for the precious metals⁷.

5. Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

6. Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 5.

7. When Philip granted this indulgence, unless he meant afterward to withdraw it, he was certainly little acquainted with the commercial interests of Old Spain.

From Manilla an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. By their means the colony was so amply supplied with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as soon enabled it to open an advantageous trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe⁸. This trade was originally carried on with Callao, the port of Lima, and the most commodious harbour on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered many difficulties in that mode of communication, and the superior facility of an intercourse with New Spain, the staple of the commerce between America and Asia was removed from Callao to Acapulco⁹.

The Spanish colony in the Philippines, having no immediate connexions with Europe, gave no uneasiness to the Portuguese, and received no annoyance from them. In the mean time the Portuguese, not only continued to monopolize the whole commerce of the East, but were masters of the coast of Guinea as well as of that of Arabia, Persia, and the two peninsulas of India. They possessed the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the isles of Sunda, with the trade of China and Japan; and they had made their colony of Brazil, which occupies that immense territory that lies between the Maragnon and the Rio de la Plata, one of the most valu-

8. Torquemada, lib. v. c. 14. Robertson, *Hist. Spanish Amer.* book viii.

9. Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Old Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the parent-kingdom; as tending to give rise to a spirit of independency in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigour to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between Acapulco and Manilla is still carried on to a considerable extent, and allowed under certain restrictions.

able districts in America. But, like every people who have suddenly acquired great riches, the Portuguese began to feel the enfeebling effects of luxury and effeminacy. That hardy valour, which had subdued so many nations, existed no longer among them : they were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a prospect of plunder. Corruption prevailed in all the departments of government, and the spirit of rapine among all ranks of men. At the same time that they gave themselves up to all those excesses which make usurpers hated, they wanted courage to make themselves feared. Equally detested in every quarter, they at length

A. D. 1572. saw themselves ready to be expelled from India by a confederacy of the princes of the country ; and, although they were able, by a desperate effort, to break this storm, their destruction was at hand ¹⁰.

When Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, in consequence of the fatal catastrophe of Don Sebastian and his gallant nobility on the coast of Africa, Philip II. became possessed of greater resources than any monarch in ancient or modern times. But instead of employing his enormous wealth in procuring the security, the happiness, and the prosperity of his widely extended empire, he profusely dissipated it, in endeavouring to render himself as despotic in Europe as he was already in America, and in no inconsiderable portion of Asia and Africa. While Philip was employed in this ambitious project, his possessions in India were neglected ; and as the Portuguese hated the dominion of the Spaniards, they paid little attention to the security of their settlements. No one pursued any other object but his own immediate interest : there was no union, no zeal for the public good ¹¹.

Things could not continue long in such a situation ; and a new regulation, in regard to trade, completed the ruin of

10. Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. 1. Guyon, *Hist. des Ind. Orient.* tom. iii.

11. Id. *ibid.*

the Portuguese settlements in India. Philip II. whose bigotry and despotism had induced him to attempt to deprive the inhabitants of the Low Countries of their civil and religious liberties, in order more effectually A. D. 1594. to accomplish his aim, prohibited his new subjects from holding any correspondence with the revolted provinces.

This was a severe blow to the trade of the Hollanders, which consisted chiefly, as at present, in supplying the wants of one nation with the produce of another. Their merchants, ambitious of augmenting their commerce, had got the trade of Lisbon into their hands. There they purchased India goods, which they sold again to all the different states of Europe. They were therefore struck with consternation at a prohibition, which excluded them from so essential a branch of their trade; and Philip did not foresee, that a restriction, by which he hoped to weaken the Dutch, would in the end, render them more formidable. Had they been permitted to continue their intercourse with Portugal, there is reason to believe they would have contented themselves with the commerce they carried on in the European seas; but finding it impossible to preserve their trade without the commodities of the East, they resolved to seek them at the original market, as they were deprived of every other¹².

In consequence of this resolution, the Hollanders fitted out some ships for India; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to find a passage thither through the North Sea, they proceeded by the Cape of Good Hope, A. D. 1595. under the direction of Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch merchant, who had resided some time at Lisbon, and made himself perfectly acquainted with every thing relative to the object of his voyage. His success, though by no means extraordinary, encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to form

12. ADVERTISEMENT, à la tête de Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'Établissement, et aux Progres de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

the project of establishing a settlement in the island of Java.

A. D. 1597. Admiral Van Neck, who was sent on that important expedition with eight ships, found the inhabitants of Java prejudiced against his countrymen. They permitted him, however, to trade; and having sent home four vessels laden with spices, and other India commodities, he sailed to the Moluccas, where he met with a more favourable reception. The natives, he learned, had forced the Portuguese to abandon some places, and only waited an opportunity of expelling them from the rest. He entered into

A. D. 1599. a treaty with some of the sovereigns, he established factories in several of the islands, and he returned to Europe with his remaining ships richly laden¹³.

The success of this voyage spread the most extravagant joy over the United Provinces. New associations were daily formed for carrying on the trade to India, and new fleets fitted out from every port of the republic. But the ardour of forming these associations, though terrible to the Portuguese, who never knew when they were in safety, or where they could with certainty annoy the enemy, had almost proved the ruin of the Dutch trade to the East. The rage of purchasing raised the value of commodities in Asia, and the necessity of selling made them bear a low price in Europe. The adventurers were in danger of falling a sacrifice to their own efforts, and to their laudable jealousy and emulation,

A. D. 1602. when the wisdom of government saved them from ruin, by uniting the different societies into one great body, under the name of the *East India Company*¹⁴.

This company, which was invested with authority to make peace or war with the Indian princes, to erect forts, chuse governors, maintain garrisons, and nominate officers

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*. Salengre, *Essai d'une Hist. des Prov. Unies*.

for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice, set out with great advantages. The incredible number of vessels fitted out by the private associations had contributed to make all the branches of eastern commerce perfectly understood; to form many able officers and seamen; and to encourage the most reputable citizens to become members of the new company. Fourteen ships were accordingly fitted out for India, under the command of admiral Warwick, whom the Dutch look upon as the founder of their lucrative commerce and powerful establishments in the East. He erected a factory in the island of Java, and secured it by fortifications: he founded another in the territories of the king of Jahor, and formed alliances with several princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portuguese, in which he was generally successful¹⁵. A furious war ensued between the two nations.

During the course of this war, which lasted for many years, the Dutch were continually sending to India fresh supplies of men and ships, while the Portuguese received no succours from Europe. Spain, it should seem, wished to humble her new subjects, whom she did not think sufficiently submissive, and to perpetuate her authority over them by the ruin of their wealth and power: she neither repaired their fortifications nor renewed their garrisons. Yet the scale remained even for a while, and the success was various on both sides; but the persevering Hollanders, by their unwearied efforts, at length deprived the Portuguese of Ceylon, the Moluccas, and all their valuable possessions in the East, except Goa, at the same time that they acquired the almost exclusive trade of China and Japan¹⁶. The island of Java, however, where they had erected their first fortification, and early built the splendid city of Batavia, continued to be, as it is at present, the seat of their principal settlement, and the centre of their power in India.

15. *Id. ibid.*16. *Salengre, ubi sup.*

But these new republicans, flushed with success, were not satisfied with their acquisitions in the East. They turned their eyes also toward the West: they established a colony, to which they gave the name of Nova Belgia, on Hudson's River, in North America: they annoyed the trade, and plundered the settlements of the Spaniards, in every part of the New World; and they made themselves masters of the important colony of Brazil in South America. But this was not a permanent conquest. When the Portuguese had shaken off the Spanish yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience in America that of the Dutch: they rose against their oppressors; and, after a variety of struggles, obliged them finally to evacuate Brazil, in 1654¹⁷. Since that era the Portuguese have continued in possession of this rich territory, the principal support of their declining monarchy, and the most valuable European settlement in America.

The English East India company was established as early as the year 1600, and with a fair prospect of success. A fleet of five stout ships was fitted out the year following, under the command of captain James Lancaster; who was favourably received by the king of Achen, and other Indian princes, with whom he formed a commercial treaty, and arrived in the Downs, after a prosperous voyage of near two years. Other voyages were performed with equal advantage. But notwithstanding these temporary encouragements, the English East India company had to struggle with many difficulties, and laboured under essential inconveniencies. Their rivals, the Portuguese and Dutch, had harbours of which they were absolute masters; places of strength, which they had built, and secured by garrisons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they had acquired possession either by force or fraud, and over which they exerted an arbitrary sway. Their trade was therefore protected, not only against the violence or caprice of the natives of India,

17. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xiv.

but also against the attempts of new competitors. They had every opportunity of getting a good sale for the commodities they carried out from Europe, and of purchasing those they brought home at a moderate price; whereas the English, who at first acted merely as fair traders, having none of these advantages, were at once exposed to the uncertainty of general markets, which were frequently anticipated or over-stocked, to the variable humour of the natives, and to the imperious will of their European rivals, who had the power of excluding them from the principal ports of the East ¹⁸.

In order to remedy these inconveniences, the English company saw the necessity of departing from their original principles, and of opposing force by force. A. D. 1616.

But as such an effort was beyond the resources of an infant society, they hoped to receive assistance from government. In this reasonable expectation, however, they were disappointed by the weak and timid policy of James I. who only enlarged their charter: yet, by their activity, perseverance, and the judicious choice of their officers and other servants, they not only maintained their trade, but erected forts and established factories in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda ¹⁹.

The Dutch were alarmed at these establishments. Having driven the Portuguese from the Spice-islands, they never meant to suffer any European nation to settle there; much less a people, whose maritime force, government, and character would make them dangerous rivals. They accordingly endeavoured to dispossess the English by every possible means. They began with attempting, by calumnious accusations, to render them odious to the natives of the countries where they had settled. But finding these shameful expedients ineffectual, they had recourse to force: and the Indian Ocean

¹⁸. Ibid. tom. ii. Raynal, tom. i.

¹⁹. *Harleian Collect. of Voyages*, vol. viii.

became a scene of the most bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two companies²⁰.

At length an attempt was made to put a period to those hostilities by one of the most extraordinary treaties recorded in the annals of mankind; and which does little honour to the political sagacity either of the English or Dutch, if the latter, as is alleged, did not mean it as a veil to their future

violences. It was agreed, That the Moluccas,
A. D. 1619.

Amboyna, and Banda, should belong in common to the companies of the two nations; that the English should have one-third, and the Dutch two-thirds of the produce, at a fixed price; that each, in proportion to their interest, should contribute to the defence of those islands; that this treaty should remain in force twenty years, during which the entire trade of India should remain equally free to both nations, neither of them endeavouring to injure the other by separate fortifications, or clandestine treaties with the natives; and that all disputes, which could not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be finally settled and determined by the king of Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces²¹.

The fate of this treaty was such as might have been expected from one party or the other. The avarice of the Dutch prompted them to take advantage of the confidential security of the English, and to plunder the factories of Lantore and Poleron, after exercising the most atrocious cruelties on the servants of the company. The supineness of the English government encouraged them to act the same tragedy, accompanied with still more horrid circumstances of barbarity, at Amboyna²²: where confessions of a

pretended conspiracy were extorted, by tortures at which humanity shudders, and which ought never to be forgot or forgiven by Englishmen.
A. D. 1623.

In consequence of these unexpected violences, for which

20. *Id. ibid.*

21. *Hart, Collect.* ubi sup.

22. *Id. ibid.*

the feeble and corrupt administration of James I. obtained no reparation, the English East India company was obliged to abandon the Spice-illands to the rapacity of the Dutch ; and though they were less unfortunate on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, the civil wars in which England was involved toward the latter part of the reign of Charles I. and which took off all attention from distant objects, reduced their affairs to a very low condition. Their trade revived during the commonwealth ; and Cromwell, on the conclusion of the war with Holland, obtained several stipulations in their favour ; but which, from the confusions that ensued, were never executed. On the accession of Charles II. they hoped to recover their consequence in India. But that needy and profligate prince, who is said to have betrayed their interests to the Dutch for a bribe, cruelly extorted loans from them, at the same time that he hurt their trade, by selling licences to interlopers ; and by these means reduced them to the brink of ruin.

The English were more successful in establishing themselves, during this period, in North America and the West Indies. As early as the year 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, in the service of Henry VII. had discovered the island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the northern shore of the American continent, from the Gulf of St. Laurence to Cape Florida. But no advantage was taken of these discoveries before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth ; when the bigotry and ambition of Philip II. roused the indignation of all the protestant powers, but more especially of England, and incited many bold adventurers to commit hostilities against his subjects in the New World. The most distinguished of those was sir Francis Drake ; who, having acquired considerable wealth by his depredations against the Spaniards in the isthmus of Darien, passed with four ships into the South Sea, by the Straits of Magellan, took many rich prizes, and returned to England, in 1579, by the Cape of

Good Hope²³. His success awakened the avidity of new adventurers; and the knowledge which was, by these means, acquired of the different parts of the American continent, suggested to the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh the idea of a settlement, within the limits of those coasts formerly visited by John Cabot.

A company was accordingly formed for that purpose, in consequence of Raleigh's magnificent promises; a patent was obtained from the queen, conformable to their views, and two ships were sent out, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, in 1584. They came to anchor in the Bay of Roanoke, in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, of which they took formal possession for the crown of England. On their return they gave so favourable an account of the climate, soil, and temper of the inhabitants, that a colony was established the following year²⁴; and Elizabeth, in order to encourage the undertaking, honoured the colony with the name of VIRGINIA, in allusion to her favourite, but much disputed virtue.

This settlement, however, never arrived at any degree of prosperity, and was finally abandoned in 1588. From that time to the year 1606, when two new companies were formed, and a charter granted to each of them by James I. no attempt appears to have been made by the English to settle on the coast of North America. One of the new companies consisted of adventurers residing in the city of London, who were desirous of settling toward the South, or in what is at present called Virginia; and the other, of adventurers belonging to Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter, who chose the country more to the North, or what is now called New England. The London Company immediately fitted out three vessels, under the command of Christopher Newport, an able and experienced mariner, with an hundred and ten

23. Hackluyt's *Collect.* vol. iii.

24. Smith's *Hist. of Virginia.*

adventurers on board, and all manner of implements for building and agriculture, as well as the necessary arms for their defence. After a tedious voyage, and many discontents among the future colonists, their little squadron reached the Bay of Chesapeake. One of the adventurers, in the name of the whole, was appointed to treat with the natives, from whom he obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient spot, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Powhatan, by the English called James River. Here they erected a slight fort, barricadoed with trunks of trees, and surrounded by a number of little huts, to which they gave the name of James Town, in honour of the king²⁵. Such was the slender beginning of the colony of Virginia; which, though it had to struggle at first with many difficulties, became, even before the Restoration, of very great national consequence.

The rapid prosperity of Virginia was chiefly owing to the culture of tobacco, its staple commodity, and to the number of Royalists that took refuge there, in order to escape the tyranny of the parliament. A like cause gave population and prosperity to the neighbouring province of Maryland, whose staple also is tobacco. This territory being granted by Charles I. to Cecilius lord Baltimore, a Roman catholic nobleman (whose father, sir George Calvert, had sought an asylum in Newfoundland, in order to enjoy the free exercise of his religion), he formed the scheme of a settlement; where he might not only enjoy liberty of conscience himself, but also be enabled to grant it to such of his friends, as should prefer an easy banishment with freedom, to the conveniences of England, embittered as they then were by the sharpness of the laws against sectaries, and the popular odium that hung over papists. The project succeeded: the Roman catholics flocked to the new settlement in great numbers, especially on the decline of the royal cause; and Maryland soon became a flourishing colony²⁶.

25. Ibid.

26. Douglas's *Summary*, Part. II, sect. xv.

New England owed its rise to similar circumstances. A small body of the most enthusiastic Puritans, afterwards known by the name of Independents, in order to avoid the severity of the English laws against non-conformity, had taken refuge in Holland, soon after the accession of James I. But although Holland is a country of the greatest religious freedom, they did not find themselves better satisfied there than in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched; their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition; and being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary. They were desirous of removing to a country, where they should see no superior. With this view, they applied to the Plymouth Company, for a patent of part of the territory included in their grant. Pleased with this application, the company readily complied; and these pious adventurers having made the necessary preparations for their voyage, embarked in one ship, in 1620, to the number of an hundred and twenty persons, and landed at a place near Cape Cod, where they founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth²⁷. Other adventurers, of the same complexion, successively followed those²⁸; and New England,

27. Douglas. Hutchinſon. Winſlow, ap. Purchas.

28. Among the number of persons ſo diſpoſed, we are told, appeared John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, who were only prevented from executing their purpoſe of going into voluntary exile, by a royal proclamation, iſſued after they were on ſhipboard, in 1635, prohibiting future emigrations, until a licence ſhould be obtained from the privy council. (*Neale's Hiſtory of the Puritans*, vol. ii.) The exultation of the puritanical writers on this ſubject is exceſſive. They aſcribe all the ſubſequent miſfortunes of Charles I. in connection with the ſcheme of Providence, to that tyrannical edict, as they are pleaſed to call it. (*Neale*, ubi ſup. *Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, &c.) Nor can the ſpeculative politician help indulging a conjecture on the poſſible conſequences of the emigration of two ſuch extraordinary men, with that of others who would have followed them, at ſuch a criſis. Charles I. rouſed to arms, but not cruſhed by the parliament, might have eſtabliſhed abſolute ſovereignty in England; while Hampden founded a commonwealth, or Cromwell

England, in less than fifty years, became a great and populous colony, consisting of several independent governments, which were little inclined to acknowledge the authority of the mother country.

Beside these large colonies in North America, the English had established a colony at Surinam, on the coast of Guiana, in South America, and taken possession of several of the West India islands, early in the seventeenth century. Barbadoes and St. Christopher's were thriving colonies before the conquest of Jamaica; and the rapid cultivation of that large and fertile island, which had been much neglected by the Spaniards, together with the improvement of her other plantations in the West Indies, soon gave England the command of the sugar-trade of Europe²⁹.

For the benefits of this, however, and of her whole colony-trade, England is ultimately indebted to the sagacity of the heads of the Commonwealth-parliament. They perceived that those subjects, who, from various motives, had taken refuge in America, would be lost to the parent-state, if the ships of foreign powers were not excluded from the ports of the plantations. The discussion of that important point, with other political considerations, brought on the

Cromwell erected a military despotism in America. Possessed of a boundless country, (for wherever they had gone they must have become leaders), they would never have submitted to the controul of any power on this side of the Atlantic. The work of ages would have been accomplished in a few years. Sooner than have borne such controul, Hampden would have taken refuge in the woods; have associated with the wild natives, and enrolled them among the number of his citizens. Cromwell, in such emergency, would also have led his fanatical herd into the bosom of the forest: have hunted with the Savages; have preached to them; have converted them; and when he had made them Christians, they would have found they were slaves!—Though destitute of the talents of a Hampden or a Cromwell, the emigrants to the northern plantations had strongly imbibed the sentiments of political as well as religious independency, which they have ever since continued to cherish.

29. *Account of the European Settlements in America*, vol. ii.

famous Navigation Act, which prohibits all foreign ships, unless under some particular exceptions, from entering the harbours of the English colonies, and obliges their principal produce to be exported directly to countries under the dominion of England.

Before this regulation, which was with difficulty submitted to by some of the colonies, and always evaded by the fanatical and factious inhabitants of New England, the colonists used to send their produce whithersoever they thought it could be disposed of to most advantage, and indiscriminately admitted into their harbours ships of all nations. In consequence of that unlimited freedom, the greater part of their trade fell into the hands of the Dutch; who, by reason of the low interest of money in Holland, and the reasonableness of their port duties, could afford to buy at the dearest, and sell at the cheapest rate; and who seized upon the profits of a variety of productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. The Navigation Act remedied this evil; and the English parliament, though aware of the inconveniences of such a regulation to the colonies, were not alarmed at its probable effects. They considered the empire only as a tree, whose sap must be returned to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

To all those settlements England thenceforth exported, without a rival, her various manufactures. From her islands in the West Indies they passed to the Spanish main, whence large sums were returned in exchange; and as it was long before her North American colonies began to think of manufacturing for themselves, the export thither was very great. Nor was her trade confined merely to America and the East and West Indies. Early in the sixteenth century she had opened a beneficial trade to Russia, by discovering a passage round the North Cape; and the ingenuity of her manufacturers, who now excelled the Flemings, to whom the greater

part of her wool used formerly to be sold, insured her a market for her cloths in all the ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

France, though at present so distinguished for her commerce and naval power, was late in establishing any permanent colony. She had yet no settlement in the East Indies: the colony of Canada was only in its infancy; her settlements in Hispaniola were not formed; and the plantations in Martinico and Guadaloupe were very inconsiderable. Nor had her silk manufacture yet attained that high degree of perfection, which afterward rendered it so great a source of wealth³¹.

Spain continued to receive annually immense sums from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Contiguous settlements and new governments were daily formed, and the demand for European goods was excessive. But as the decline of their manufactures obliged the Spaniards to depend upon foreigners for the supply of that demand, their wealth became the common property of Europe. The industrious manufacturer of every country had his share; and the conquerors of the New World found themselves dwindle into the factors of England and Holland.

Such, my dear Philip, was the commercial state of Europe, when Lewis XIV. assumed the reins of government, and Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. War continued to rage between the Spaniards and Portuguese; but, after an ambitious struggle of twenty-eight years, Spain was obliged to acknowledge, in 1668, the right of the family of Braganza to the crown of Portugal. The rest of Europe was in peace.

31. Raynal, *Hist. Philos.* &c.

